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THE ANNALS AND ANTIQUITIES OF RAJASTHAN, OR CENTRAL AND WESTERN RAJPOOT STATES OF INDIA.

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BY

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL

JAMES TOD,

LATE POLITICAL AGENT TO THE WESTERN RAJPOOT STATES.

VOL. II.

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TO

HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY

WILLIAM THE FOURTH.

SIRE,

YOUR MAJESTY has graciously sanctioned the presentation of the Second Volume of the ANNALS OF RAJPOOTANA to the Public under the auspices of Your Majesty's name.

In completing this work, it has been my endeavour to draw a faithful picture of States, the ruling principle of which is the paternity of the Sovereign. That this patriarchal form is the best suited to the genius of the people, may be presumed from its durability, which war, famine, and anarchy have failed to destroy. The throne has always been the watch-word and rallying-point of the Rajpoots. My prayer is, that it may continue so, and that neither the love of conquest, nor false views of policy, may tempt us to subvert the independence of these States, some of which have braved the storms of more than ten centuries.

It will not, I trust, be deemed presumptuous in the Annalist of these gallant and long-oppressed races thus to solicit for them a full measure of Your Majesty's gracious patronage; in return for which, the Rajpoots, making Your Majesty's enemies their own, would glory in assuming the 'saffron robe,' emblematic of death or victory, under the banner of that chivalry of which Your Majesty is the head.

That Your Majesty's throne may ever be surrounded by chiefs who will act up to the principles of fealty maintained at all hazards by the Rajpoot, is the heartfelt aspiration of,

SIRE,

Your Majesty's

Devoted subject and servant

JAMES TOD

AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION.

In placing before the Public the concluding volume of the Annals of Rajpootana, I have fulfilled what I considered to be a sacred obligation to the races amongst whom I have passed the better portion of my life; and although no man can more highly appreciate public approbation, I am far less eager to court that approbation, than to awaken a sympathy for the objects of my work, the interesting people of Rajpootana.

I need add nothing to what was urged in the Introduction to the First Volume on the subject of Indian History; and trust that, however slight the analogy between the chronicles of the Hindus and those of Europe, as historical works, they will serve to banish the reproach, which India has so long laboured under, of possessing no records of past events: my only fear now is, that they may be thought redundant.

I think I may confidently affirm, that whoever, without being alarmed at their bulk, has the patience attentively to peruse these Annals, cannot fail to become well acquainted with all the peculiar features of Hindu society, and will be enabled to trace the foundation and progress of each state in Rajpootana, as well as to form a just notion of the character of a people, upon whom, at a future period, our existence in India may depend.

Whatever novelty the enquirer into the origin of nations may find in these pages, I am ambitious to claim for them a higher title than a mass of mere archæological *data*. To see humanity under every aspect, and to observe the influence of different creeds upon man in his social capacity, must ever be one of the highest sources of mental enjoyment; and I may hope that the personal qualities herein delineated, will allow the labourer in this vast field of philosophy to enlarge his sphere of acquaintance with human varieties. In the present circumstances of our alliance with these states, every trait of national character, and even every traditional incident, which, by leading us to understand and respect their peculiarities, may enable us to secure their friendship and esteem, become of infinite importance. The more we study their history, the better shall we comprehend the causes of their international quarrels, the origin of their tributary engagements, the secret principles of their mutual repulsion, and the sources of their strength and their weakness as an aggregate body: without which knowledge it is impossible we can arbitrate with justice in their national disputes; and, as respects ourselves, we may convert a means of defence into a source of bitter hostility.

It has been my aim to diversify as much as possible the details of this volume. In the Annals of Marwar, I have traced the conquest and peopling of an immense region by a handful of strangers; and have dwelt, perhaps, with tedious minuteness on the long reign of Raja Ajit Sing and the thirty years' war, to shew what the energy of one of these petty states, impelled by a sense of oppression, effected against the colossal power of its enemies. It is a portion of their history which should be deeply studied by those who have succeeded to the paramount power; for Arungzeb had

less reason to distrust the stability of his dominion than we have: yet what is now the house of Timour? The resources of Marwar were reduced to as low in ebb at the close of Arungzeb's reign, as they are at the present time: yet did that state surmount all its difficulties, and bring armies into the field that annihilated the forces of the empire. Let us not, then, mistake the supineness engendered by long oppression, for want of feeling, nor mete out to these high-spirited people the same measure of contumely, with which we have treated the subjects of our earlier conquests.

The Annals of the Bhattis may be considered as the link connecting the tribes of India Proper with the ancient races west of the Indus, or Indo-Scythia: and although they will but slightly interest the general reader, the antiquary may find in them many new topics for investigation, as well as in the Sketch of the Desert, which has preserved the relics of names that once promised immortality.

The patriarchal simplicity of the Jit communities, upon whose ruins the state of Bikaneer was founded, affords a picture, however imperfect, of petty republics,—a form of Government little known to eastern despotism, and proving the tenacity of the ancient Gete's attachment to liberty.

Amber, and its scion Shekhavati, possess a still greater interest from their contiguity to our frontier. A multitude of singular privileges is attached to the Shekhavati federation, which it behoves the paramount power thoroughly to understand, lest it should be led by false views to pursue a policy detrimental to them as well as to ourselves. To this extensive community belong the Larkhanis, so utterly unknown to us, that a recent internal tumult of that tribe was at first mistaken for an irruption of our old enemies, the Pindarris.

Harouti may claim our regard from the high bearing of its gallant race, the Haras; and the singular character of the individual with whose biography its history closes, and which cannot fail to impart juster notions of the genius of Asiatics.

So much for the matter of this volume:—with regard to the manner, as the Rajpoots abhor all pleas *ad misericordiam*, so likewise does their annalist, who begs to repeat, in order to deprecate a standard of criticism inapplicable to this performance, that it professes *not* to be constructed on exact historical principles: *Non historiâ, sed particulæ historiæ.*

In conclusion, I adopt the peroration of the ingenuous, pious and liberal Abulfazil, when completing his History of the Provinces of India: "Praise be unto God, that by the assistance of his Divine Grace, I have completed the History of *the Rajpoots*. The account cost me a great deal of trouble in collecting, and I found such difficulty in ascertaining dates, and in reconciling the contradictions in the several histories of the Princes of *Rajpootana*, that I had nearly resolved to relinquish the task altogether: but who can resist the decrees of Fate? I trust that those, who have been able to obtain better information, will not dwell upon my errors; but that upon the whole I may meet with approbation."

York Place, Portman Square,

March 10th, 1832.

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S OF MARWAR.

CHAPTER I.

Marwar.—Authorities for its early
ealogical roll.—The Rahtore race, who
ed from the Yavan kings of Parli-
Nayn Pal.—His date.—Conquers
Rajpoot genealogies.—The Surya
nicle of the bard Kurnidhan.—The
r chronicle of Ajit Sing's minority
Velas.—The Kheat, a biographical
ces.—The Yavanas and Aswas, or
—The thirteen Rahtore families,
amdhuj.—Raja Jeichund, king of
d splendour of that state before
est of India.—His immense ar-
ca.—Divine honours paid to him.—
ertaken by Jeichund.—Its failure
ate of India at that period.—The
archies.—Delhi.—Canouj.—Mewar.
din, king of Gor, invades India.
king of Delhi.—Attacks Canouj.—
onarchy after sever centuries' dura-
nd.—Date of thi event.

MARWAR is a corru
or *Maroosthan*,
lesa, whence t
e
writers.
onymous w
ply *Maroo*.
the Rahtore
tion compre ended
e ocean.

of *Maroo-ur*, classically *Maroo-*
ion of des.' It is also called
telligibl *Mardes* of the early
rds equently style it *Mordhur*,
oo-aesa, or, when it suits their
now restricted to the country
ncient and appropriate appli-
re 'desert,' from the Sutlej to

A concise genealo
M has alrea
pa er those t
tch of the R htore ruler
an ; we

root in any soil'; when ambition branches (*sachæ*) spread ...dly over th... was easily gratified with ...olar pedigr... however, to record their own opinions r... shall make extracts from the chronicles... instead of fusing the whole into one m... of Mewar. The reader will ...ccasion... simple translations of whatever is ... Rahtore records.

Let us begin with a treatment of t... first, a genealogical roll of the Rahtore... or Jain priest, from the temple of ... about fifty feet in length, commenci... gony, followed by the ...oduction of t... the spine (*raht*) of Indra,' the nomi... naswa, prince of Parlipur." Of the... the Rahtores have no other notio... north; but in the declared race of th... prince, of the Aswa or Asi tribe,... Scythic origin of this Rajpoot family...

The chronicle proceeds with t... cubja,‡ or Canouj, and the origin... Camdhuj), the titular appellation of... with the thirteen great *sachæ*, ... and their *Gotra-acharya*, or genealo...

Another roll, of considerable a... fabulous age, with a long string o... sole value consists in the esteem... We may omit all that precedes ... S. 526 (A. D. 470),¶ conquered C... Ajipal; from which period the ... Rahtore. The genealogy proceeds ... monarch of Canouj; relates the ...

* An ancient town in Marwar.

† One of the four tribes which ... Bactria. The ancient Hindu cosmo... branch of their early family; and doubt... the Oxus to the Ganges, were one race...

‡ From *Cubja* (spine) of the vi...

§ *Cama-dhwaja*, 'the banner of ...

‖ *Gotama Gotra*, *Mardwandan* ... *rapti Agni*, *Pankhani Devi*.

¶ It is a singular fact, that there ... ntury for any of the great Rajpo... in the north. This was the perio... Scythic races ... Central Asia, w... the ...

...ned the Greek kingdo... claim the Aswa ... Indo-Scythic peo...

...*Sookracharya*...

...liable date b...

...ies, ...

...ed ...

...djunct...

...of the Rahtores, whose ... the region of death, ... As it is desirable, ...

...AR.

Seoji, or Sevaji, a
war), with a handful establishment in the desert (*Maroo-*
kingdom of Canouj) , brethren (a wreck of the mighty
Jeswunt Sing, S. 1735 erminates with the death of Raja
and scion, until we see D. 1679), describing every branch
Genealogy ceases h spreading over Maroo.
enables us to mark th an uninteresting pursuit, when it
the germ to the comp progress of animal vegetation, from
land is overshadowe development of the tree, until the
chronicle to the moral ith its branches; and bare as is the
of the powers of the r historian, it exhibits to the observer
no other people on ear nal economy, data, which the annals of
throne of Jeichund ov rnish. In A. D. 1193, we see the
retainers, taking service rned; his nephew, with a handful of
desert. In less than f vit petty chieftain in the Indian
of these exiles of the es, we find the descendants
the desert, having fou ng, occupying nearly the whole of
with the castles of its ed e capitals, studded the land
fifty thousand men, d ity, and bringing into the field
to combat the emperor *bee ea beta* 'the sons of one father,'
unnoticed gr w pre Thi What a contrast do s their
of Canouj, o whom fi t that of the Islamite conquerors
of the renov ed existe ties passed away in ignorance
of Shere Sha h brough he Rahtore, until the ambition
of Seoji, who e valour to contact with the descendants
lost the crown of India m to exclaim "he had nearly
the poverty o (hei ill of barley," in allusion to
What a
sentiment of rcit hen we know that a
affiliated boc in al of
of his origin ed to
to forget its up by s life in
thies, create at Jodhpur, death of
who must de ng, in A. D. with English g
which rende ent in A. D. of the narrator had
one of paran offices of trus was a living chronicle
The thi the past and the rom these sources, from
composed b s, and subject sovereign, his nobles, his an
command of Rahtores, —ba rnidhar ere collected for this sketch
in 7,500 stan m as we add f events at first, but redund
ent to me l ores is a sing. A genealogical table of
kavi (bard) stitute th l fro e grand offsets, whose descen
Rahto in th
d do

e name of Camdhuj, which
a blank until he recommences sumed by Nayn Pal on his
appears to have been the turnidhan must have taken
conquest of Canouj. Althoug correspond very well with
his facts from the royal records, , however, in a great hurry
the roll from Nadolaye. The bares into Marwar, and slurs
to bring the founder of the Ra Nor does he dwell long
over the defeat and death of Jeich ates them all, and points
on his descendants, though he enu s the reign of Jeswunt
out the leading events until he re "commanded the bard
Sing, grandfather of Abhye Sing, w
to write the *Sooraj Prakas*." opac *Akheat*, or 'the royal

The next authority is the *Raj* a short account of the
relations.' This work commences yodhya; then takes up
Suryavansa, from their cradle n as the preceding work,
Seoji's migration, and in the sa death of Raja Jeswunt;
rapidly passes over all events ents during the minority
but it becomes a perfect chron gn, and that of Abhye
of his successor, Ajit, his eventful against Sirbolund Khan,
Sing, to the conclusion of the w the meagre historical
viceroy of Guzerat. Throwing de of the events from S.
introduction, it is professedly a ch , the period to which
1735 (A.D. 1679), to S. 1787 (A.D
the *Sooraj Prakas* is brought do em of 100,000 couplets,

A portion of the *Beejy Vil* lates to the reign of the
also fell into my hands: it c sing, the s n of Bukht
prince whose name it bears, eejy Sing, and his
Sing. It details the civil wa consequent
cousin, Ram Sing, (s of
e wha of the
le more of the , or 'Story,'
'sons o f Raja Oodi
oraj Prak d grandson,
n, during reigne colours the

This poetic tory, c intelligent
the original manuscr Raja Abhye memoir of
year 1820.* As usua the as, was copie 29, down to
rigin of all things, tracing h y Raja Maun 1818. The
Soomitra; from whence commences wi in the state,
present.
the creatio
he reigning
materials
indeed,

* the library of the Royal As cript is de

of the present day. A glance at this table will shew the claims of each house; and in its present distracted condition, owing to civil broils, will enable the paramount power to mediate, when necessary, with impartiality, in the conflicting claims of the prince and his feudatories.

We shall not attempt to solve the question, whether the Rahtores are, or are not *Ra-vud-vansa*, 'Children of the Sun'; nor shall we dispute either the birth or etymon of the first Rahtore (from the *raht* or shine of Indra), or search in the north for the kingdom of the nominal father; but be content to conclude that this celestial interference in the household concerns of the Parlipur prince was invented to cover some disgrace. The name of *Yavana*, with the adjunct *Aswa* or *Asi*, clearly indicates the Indo-Scythic barbarian' from beyond the Indus. In the genealogy of the Lunar races, descended of Budha and Ella (*Mercury* and the *Earth*—see Table I., Vol. I.), the five, sons of BAJ-ASWA are made to people the countries on and beyond the Indus; and in the scanty records of Alexander's invasion, mention is made of many races, as the Asasenæ and Asacani, still dwelling in these regions.

This period was fruitful in change to the old established dynasties of the Hindu continent, when numerous races of *barbarians, viz.*, Huns, Parthians, and Getes, had fixed colonies on her western and northern frontiers.*

"In S. 526 (A. D. 470) Ameer Pal obtained Canouj, from which period the Rahtores son Poonjaje title of Camdhuj. His son was Pudarut,† and his ing the patro from whom sprang the thirteen great families, beaso; his descen ymic Camdhuj, *viz.*

"1st. Dhurma Bhum ants styled *Danes*

fou fought the A
Bhanooda, wh *Abhipura* hans at Kangra, an
hipur; hence tho married *amdhuj.*
Cho Virachandra, ttun; he the daughter of Hamira
emi Anhulpur; his des had fourteen sons, who
Cam the Dekh cendants called *Kuppolia*
ass marri
wh ed the daughter of the Pramara
anges;—slew 16,000 Pramaras,
, whence the *Korah Camdhuj.* ‡
his descendants *Jirkhaira Camdhuj,*

r. Gete or Jit inscriptions. Appendix, Vol. i.
ati's roll; an error of one or other of the
the more ancient records.

he Transactions of the Roy. Asiatic Society
relates to a branch of the Canouj family.

"6th. Pudma, who conquered Orissa and also Bogilana, from Raja Tejmun Yadu.

"7th. Aihar, who took Bengal from the Yadus; hence *Aihara Camdhuj.*

"8th. Bardeo, his elder brother offered him in appanage Benares, and eighty-four townships; but he preferred founding a city, which he called Parukpur* his descendants *Paruk Camdhuj.*

"9th. Oogra-Prebhoo, who made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Hinglaz Chandel,† who, pleased with the severity of his penance, caused a sword to ascend from the fountain, with which he conquered the southern countries touching the ocean‡ his descendants *Chandaila Camdhuj.*

"10th. Mookta-Mun, who conquered possessions in the north from Bhan Tuar: his descendants *Tuara Camdhuj.*

"11th. Bhurut, at the age of sixty-one conquered Kenek-sir, under the northern hills, from Goodra-sen of the Birgoojur tribe; his descendants styled *Bhurut Camdhuj.*

"12th. Allunkul founded Khyroda; fought the Asuras (Moslems) on the banks of the Attok: his descendants *Khyrodea Camdhuj.*

"13th. Chand obtained Tarapoor in the north. He married a daughter of the Chohan of Sakera,§ a city well known to the world: with her he came to Benares.

"And thus the race of Surya multiplied.

"Bhumbo,‖ or Dherma twenty-[illegible] sovereign of Canouj, had son, Ajy-Chund.¶ Fwards that one generations they bore titles of *Rao*, aftesal, Megsen, [illegible] *Raja*: Oodichund-Nir-ti, Keneksen, Sehesd, Bhoodu, Rubhadra, Deosen, I, [illegible] of en, Dansen, Mokuts[illegible] Jeichund, [illegible]sen. Tirpal, Beejychund,** his [illegible]me Dul Pangho became [illegible]m the Canouj, with the surna[illegible]f the action. [illegible]ne esta-

Nothing is related [illegible]ayn Pal ins of th[illegible]tries, until conquest of Canouj by N[illegible] grandso[illegible] (A. [illegible] terminated blishment of his thirteen [illegible] pers[illegible] in [illegible]y [illegible] we reach Jeichund, in whos[illegible] (A. [illegible]nt

* *Qu.* Parkur, towards the Indus

† On the coast of Mekran.

‡ If we can credit these legends, we ing over all India. I give these bare facts yet remain of the races in those countries.

§ A city often mentioned by Ferishta, medans.

‖ Nayn Pal must have preceded D generations.

¶ Called Abhe-chand, in the *Sooraj Pr*

** Also styled *Beejy Pal*; classically V

the Rahtore sovereignty on the Ganges; and we have only twenty-one names to fill up the space of seven centuries, although the testimony on which it is given * asserts there were twenty-one princes bearing the title of *Rao* prior to the assumption of that of *Raja*. But the important information is omitted as to who was the first to assume this title. There are names in the Yati's roll that are not in the *Sooraj Prakas*, which we have followed; and one of these, "Rungut Dhwaj," is said to have overcome Jesraj Tuar, king of Delhi, for whose period we have correct data: yet we cannot incorporate the names in the Yati's roll with that just given without vitiating each; and as we have no facts, it is useless to perplex ourselves with a barren genealogy. But we can assert that it must have been a splendid dynasty, and that their actions, from the conqueror Nayn Pal, to the last prince, Jeichund, were well deserving of commemoration. That they were commemorated in written records, there cannot be a doubt; for the trade of the bardic chroniclers in India has flourished in all ages.

Although we have abundant authority to assert the grandeur of the kingdom of Canouj † at the period of its extinction, both from the bard Chund and the concurrent testimony of Mahomedan authors, yet are we astonished at the description of the capital, attested not only by the annals of the Rahtores, but by those of their antagonists, the Chohans.

The circumvallation of Canouj covered a space of more than thirty miles; and its numerous forces obtained for its prince the epithet of "*Dul Pangla*," meaning that the mighty host (*Dul*) was lame or had a halt in its movements owing to its numbers, of which Chund observes, that in the march "the van had reached their ground ere the rear had moved off." The *Sooraj Prakas* gives the amount of this army, which in numbers might compete with the most potent which, in ancient or modern times, was ever sent into the field. "Eighty thousand men in armour; thirty thousand horse covered with *pakhur*, or quilted mail; three hundred thousand *paeks* or infantry; and of bow-men and battle-axes two hundred thousand; besides a cloud of elephants bearing warriors."

This immense army was to oppose the Yavana beyond the Indus; for, as the chronicle says, "The king of Gor and Irak crossed the Attock. There Jey Sing met the conflict, when the *Nilab* changed its name to *Soorkhab*. ‡ There was

* The *Sooraj Prakas*.

† See inscriptions of Jeichund, Vijyachund and Korah, in the 9th and 14th vols. of the Asiatic Researches.

‡ The *Nil-ab*, or 'blue water,' the Indus, changed its name to the 'Red-stream' (*Soork-ab*), or 'ensanguined.'

the Ethiopic *(Habshee)* king and the *skilful Frank learned in all arts*,* overcome by the lord of Canouj."

The chronicles of the Chohans, the sworn foe of the Rahtores, repeat the greatness of the monarch of Canouj, and give him the title of "*Mandalica*." They affirm that he overcame the king of the north,† making eight tributary kings prisoners; that he twice defeated Sidraj, king of Anhulwarra, and extended his dominions south of the Nerbudda, and that, at length, in the fulness of his pride, he had divine honours paid him in the rite *Soenair*. This distinction, which involves the most august ceremony, and is held as a virtual assumption of universal supremacy, had, in all ages, been attended with disaster. In the rite of Soenair, every office, down to the scullion of the "Rusorah," or banquet-hall, must be performed by royal personages; nor had it been attempted by any of the dynasties which ruled India since the Pandu: not even Vicrama, though he introduced his own era, had the audacity to attempt what the Rahtore determined to execute. All India was agitated by the accounts of the magnificence of the preparations, and circular invitations were despatched to every prince, inviting him to assist at the pompous ceremony which was to conclude with the nuptial of the raja's only daughter, who, according to the customs of those days, would select her future lord from the assembled chivalry of India. The Chohan bard described the revelry and magnificence of the scene: the splendour of the *Yug-sala*, or 'hall of sacrifice,' surpassing all powers of description; in which was assembled all the princes of India, "save the lord of the Chohans, and Samara of Mewar," who, scorning this assumption of supremacy, Jeichund made their effigies in gold, assigning to them the most servile posts; that of the king of the Chohans being *Poleah*, or 'porter of the hall.' Pirthiraj, whose life was one succession of feats of arms and gallantry, had a double motive for action—love and revenge. He determined to enjoy both, or perish in the attempt; "to spoil the sacrifice and bear away the fair of Canouj from its halls, though beset by all the heroes of Hind." The details of this exploit form the most spirited of the sixty-nine books of the bard. The Chohan executed his purpose, and, with the *elite* of the warriors of Delhi, bore off the princess in open day from Canouj. A desperate running-fight of five days took place. To use the words of the bard, "he preserved his prize; he gained immortal renown, but he lost the sinews

* It is singular that Chund likewise mentions the Frank as being in the army of Shabudin, in the conquest of his sovereign Prithiraj. If this be true, it must have been a desultory or fugitive band of crusaders.

† They thus style the kings west of the Indus.

of Delhi." So did Jeichund those of Canouj; and each, who had singly repelled all attacks of the kings, fell in turn a prey to the Ghori Sultan, who skilfully availed himself of these international feuds, to make a permanent conquest of India.

We may here briefly describe the state of Hindusthan at this epoch, and for centuries previous to the invasions of Mahmoud.

There were four great kingdoms, *viz.*,

1st. Delhi, under the Tuars and Chohans;
2nd. Canouj, under the Rahtores;
3rd. Mewar, under the Ghelotes;
4th. Anhulwarra, under the Chauras and Solankis.

To one or other of these states, the numerous petty princes of India paid homage and feudal service. The boundary between Delhi and Canouj was the Cali-nadi, or 'black stream;' the Calindi of the Greek geographers. Delhi claimed supremacy over all the countries westward to the Indus, embracing the lands watered by its arms, from the foot of the Himalaya,—the desert,—to the Aravali chain. The Chohan king, successor to the Tuars, enumerated one hundred and eight great vassals, many of whom were subordinate princes.

The power of Canouj extended north to the foot of the snowy mountains; eastward to Casi (Benares); and across the Chumbul to the lands of the Chundail (now Bundelkhund); on the south its possession came in contact with Mewar.

Mewar, or *Medya-war*, the 'central region,' was bounded to the north by the Aravali, to the south by the Pramaras of Dhar (dependent on Canouj), and westward by Anhulwarra, which state was bounded by the ocean to the south, the Indus on the west, and the desert to the north.

There are records of great wars amongst all these princes. The Chohans and Ghelotes, whose dominions were contiguous, were generally allies, and the Rahtores and Tuars (predecessors of the Chohans) who were only divided by the Cali-nadi, often, dyed it with their blood. Yet this warfare was never of an exterminating kind; a marriage quenched a feud, and they remained friends until some new cause of strife arose.

If, at the period preceding Mahmoud, the traveller had journeyed through the courts of Europe, and taken the line of route, in subsequent ages pursued by Timoor, by Byzantium, through Ghizni (adorned with the spoils of India), to Delhi, Canowj, and Anhulwarra, how superior in all that constitutes civilization would the Rajpoot princes have appeared to him!—in arts immeasurably so; in arms by no means inferior. At that epoch, in the west, as in the east, every state was governed on feudal principles. Happily for Europe, the democratical

principle gained admittance, and imparted a new character to her institutions; while the third estate of India, indeed of Asia, remained permanently excluded from all share in the government which was supported by its labour, every pursuit but that of arms being deemed ignoble. To this cause, and the endless wars which feudality engenders, Rajpoot nationality fell a victim, when attacked by the means at command of the despotic kings of the north.

Shabudin, king of Ghor, taking advantage of these dissensions, invaded India. He first encountered Prithiraj, the Chohan king of Delhi, the outwork and bulwark of India, which fell. Shabudin then attacked Jeichund, who was weakened by the previous struggle. Canouj put forth all her strength, but in vain; and her monarch was the last son of "*the Yavana* of Parlipoor," who ruled on the banks of the Ganges. He met a death congenial to the Hindu, being drowned in the sacred stream in attempting to escape.

This event happened in S. 1249 (A. D. 1193), from which period the overgrown, gorgeous Canouj ceased to be a Hindu city, when the "thirty-six races" of vassal princes, from the Himalaya to the Vindhya, who served under the banners of "*Bardai Sena*,"?* retired to their patrimonial estates. But though the Rahtore name ceased to exist on the shores of the Ganges, destiny decreed that a scion should be preserved, to produce in a less favoured land a long line of kings; that in thirty-one generations, his descendant, Raja Maun, "*Raj, Rajeswara*," 'the king, the lord of kings,' should be as vain-glorious of the sceptre of Maroo, as either Jeichund when he commanded divine honours, or his still more remote ancestor Nayn Pal fourteen centuries before, when he erected his throne in Canouj. The Rahtore may well boast of his pedigree, when he can trace it through a period of 1,360 years, in lineal descent from male to male; and contented with this, may leave to the mystic page of the bard, or the interpolated pages of the *Puranas*, the period preceding Nayn Pal.

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* Another title of the monarch of Canouj, "the bard of the host.' from which we are led to understand he was as well versed in the poetic art as his rival, the Chohan prince of Delhi.

CHAPTER II.

Emigration of Seoji and Saitram, grandsons of Jeichund—Their arrival in the Western Desert.—Sketch of the tribes inhabiting the desert to the Indus at that epoch—Seoji offers his services to the chief of Koloomud—They are accepted.—He attacks Lakha Phoolana, the famed freebooter of Phoolra, who is defeated.—Saitram killed.—Seoji marries the Salanki's daughter.—Proceeds by Anhulwarra on his route to Dwarica.—Again encounters Lakha Phoolana, whom he slays in single combat.—Massacres the Dabeys of Mehwo, and the Gohils of Kherdhur.—Seoji establishes himself in "the land of Kher."—The Brahmin community of Palli invoke the aid of Seoji against the mountaineers.—Offer him lands.—Accepted,—Birth of a son.—Seoji massacres the Brahmins, and usurps their lands.—Death of Seoji.—Leaves three sons—The eldest, Asothma, succeeds—The second Soning, obtains Edur.—Ajmal, the third, conquers Okamundala, originates the Badhail tribe of that region.—Asothama leaves eight sons, heads of clans.—Doohur succeeds.—Attempts to recover Canouj—Failure.—Attempts Mundore.—Slain.—Leaves seven sons.—Raepal succeeds.—Revenges his father's death.—His thirteen sons.—Their issue spread over Maroo.—Rao Kanhul succeeds.—Rao Jalhun.—Rao Chado.—Rao Theedo.—Carry on wars with the Bhattis and other tribes.—Conquest of Beenmahl—Rao Siluk.—Rao Beerumdeo, killed in the battle with the Johrs.—Clans, their issue.—Rao Chanda.—Conquers Mundore from the Purihar.—Assaults and obtains Nagore from the Imperialists.—Captures Nodole, capital of Godwar.—Marries the Princess of Mundore.—Fourteen sons and one daughter, who married Lakha Rana of Mewar.—Result of this marriage.—Feud between Irinkowal, fourth son of Chonda, and the Bhatti chieftain of Poogul.—Chonda slain at Nagore.—Rao Rinmull succeeds.—Resides at Cheetore.—Conquers Ajmere for the Rana,—Equalizes the weights and measures of Marwar, which he divides into departments.—Rao Rinmull slain.—Leaves twenty-four sons, whose issue constitute the present frerage of Marwar.—Table of clans.

In S. 1268 (A.D. 1212), eighteen years subsequent to the overthrow of Canouj, Seoji, and Saitram, grandsons of its last monarch, abandoned the land of their birth, and with

two hundred retainers, the wreck of their vassalage, journeyed westward to the desert, with the intent, according to some of the Chronicles, of making a pilgrimage to the shrine of Dwarica; but according to others, and with more probability, to carve their fortunes in fresh fields, unscathed by the luxuries in which they had been tried, and proud in their poverty and sole heritage, the glory of Canouj.

Let us rapidly sketch the geography of the tribes over whom it was destined these emigrants of the Ganges should obtain the mastery, from the Jumna to the Indus, and the Garah river to the Aravali hills. First, on the east, the Cuchwahas, under Milaisi, whose father, Rao Pujoon, was killed in the war of Canouj. Ajmeer, Sambhur, and the best lands of the Chohans, fell rapidly to the Islamite—though the strongholds of the Aravali yet sheltered some, and Nadole continued for a century more to be governed by a descendant of Beesuldeo. Mansi, Rana of the Eendoh tribe, a branch of the Purihars, still held Mundore, and the various *Bhomias* around paid him a feudal subjection as the first chief of the desert. Northward, about Nagore, lived the community of the Mohils (a name now extinct), whose chief place was Aureent, on which depended 1,440 villages. The whole of the tracts now occupied by Bikaneer to Bhatnair were partitioned into petty republics of Getes or Jits, whose history will heareafter be related. Thence to the Garah river the Johyas, Dyas, Cathæ, Langahas, and other tribes whose names are now obliterated, partly by the sword, partly by conversion to Islamism. The Bhattis had for centuries been established within the bounds they still inhabit, and little expected that this handful of Rahtores was destined to contract them. The Soda princes adjoined the Bhattis south, and the Jharejas occupied the valley of the Indus and Cutch. The Solankis intervened between them and the Pramaras of Aboo and Chandravati, which completed the chain by junction with Nadole. Various chieftains of the more ancient races, leading a life of fearless independence, acknowledging an occasional submission to their more powerful neighbours, were scattered throughout this space; such as the Dabeys of Eedur and Mehwo; the Gohils of Kherdhur; the Deoras of Sanchore; and Sonigurras of Jhalore; the Mohils of Aureent; the Sanklas of Sindli, &c.; all of whom have either had their birthright seized by the Rahtore, or the few who have survived and yet retain them, are enrolled amongst their allodial vassals.

The first exploit of Seoji was at Koloomud (twenty miles west of the city of Bikaneer, not then in existence), the residence of a chieftain of the Solanki tribe. He received

the royal emigrants with kindness, and the latter repaid it by the offer of their services to combat his enemy, the Jhareja chieftain of Phoolra, well known in all the annals of the period, from the Sutlej to the ocean, as Lakha Phoolana, the most celebrated riever of Maroo, whose castle of Phoolra stood amidst the almost inaccessible sand-hills of the desert. By this timely succour, the Solanki gained a victory over Lakha, but with the loss of Saitram and several of his band. In gratitude for this service, the Solanki bestowed upon Seoji his sister in marriage, with an ample dower; and he continued his route by Anhulwarra Patun, where he was hospitably entertained by its prince, to the shrine of Dwarica. It was the good fortune of Seoji again to encounter Lakha, whose wandering habits had brought him on a foray into the territory of Anhulwarra. Besides the love of glory and the ambition of maintaining the reputation of his race, he had the stimulus of revenge, and that of a brother's blood. He was successful, though he lost a nephew, slaying Lakha in single combat, which magnified his fame in all these regions, of which Phoolana was the scourge.

Flushed with success, we hear nothing of the completion of Seoji's pilgrimage; but obedient to the axiom of the Rajpoot, "get land," we find him on the banks of the Looni, exterminating, at a feast, the Dabeys of Mehwo,* and soon after the Gohils of Kherdhur,† whose chief, Mohesdas, fell by the sword of the grandson of Jeichund. Here, in the "land of Kher," amidst the sand-hills of the Looni, (the salt-river of the desert), from which the Gohils were expelled, Seoji planted the standard of the Rahtores.

At this period a community of Brahmins held the city and extensive lands about Palli from which they were termed *Palliwal*; and being greatly harassed by the incursions of the mountaineers, the Mairs and Meenas, they called in the aid of Seoji's band, which readily undertook and executed the task of rescuing the Brahmins from their depredations. Aware that they would be renewed, they offered Seoji lands to settle amongst them, which were readily accepted; and here he had a son by the Solankani, to whom he gave the name of Asothama. With her, it is recorded the suggestion originated to make himself lord of Palli; and it affords another example of the disregard

* The Dabey was one of the thirty-six royal races; and this is almost the last mention of their holding independent possession. See Vol. I.

† In my last journey through these regions, I visited the Gohils at Bhaonuggur, in the Gulf of Cambay. I transcribed their defective annals which trace their migration from "Kherdhur," but in absolute ignorance where it is! See. Vol. I.

of the early Rajpoots for the sacred order, that on the *Holi* or 'Saturnalia;' he found an opportunity to "*obtain land*," putting to death the heads of this community, and adding the district to his conquest. Seoji outlived his treachery only twelve months, leaving his acquisitions as a nucleus for further additions to his children. He had three sons, Asothama, Soning, and Ajmal.

One of the Chronicles asserts that it was Asothama, the successor of Seoji, who conquered "the land of Kher" from the Gohils. By the same species of treachery by which his father attained Palli, he lent his aid to establish his brother Soning in Eedur. This small principality, on the frontiers of Guzerat, then appertained, as did Mehwo to the Dabey race; and it was during the *maatum*, or period of mourning for one of its princes, that the young Rahtore chose to obtain a new settlement. His descendants are distinguished as the Hatondia Rahtores. The third brother, Uja, carried his forays as far as the extremity of the Saurashtra peninsula, where he decapitated Beekumsi, the Chawara chieftain of Okamundala,* and established himself. From this act his branch became known as the "*Badhail*;"† and the Badhails are still in considerable number in that furthest track of ancient Hinduism called the "World's End."

Asothama died, leaving eight sons, who became the heads of clans, *viz.* Doohur, Jopsi, Khimpsao, Bhopsoo, Dhandul, Jaitmal, Bandur, and Oohur; of which, four Doohur, Dhandul, Jaitmal, and Oohur, are yet known.

Doohur succeeded Asothama. He made an unsuccessful effort to recover Canouj; and then attempted to wrest Mundore from the Purihars, but "watered their lands with his blood." He left seven sons, *viz.*, Raepal, Keerutpal, Behar, Peetul, Joogail, Daloo, and Begur.

Raepal succeeded, and revenged the death of his father, slaying the Purihar of Mundore, of which he even obtained temporary possession. He had a progeny of thirteen sons, who rapidly spread their issue over these regions. He was succeeded by his son, Kanhul, whose successor was his son, Jalhun; he was succeeded by his son, Chado, whose successor his son, Theedo. All these carried on a desperate warfare with, and made conquests from, their neighbours. Chado and Theedo are mentioned as very troublesome neighbours in the annals of the Bhattis of Jessulmeer, who were compelled to carry the war against them into the "land of Kher." Rao

* On the western coast of the Saurashtra peninsula.

† From *badha*, 'to slay.'

Theedo took the rich districts of Teenmahal from the Sonigurra and made other additions to his territory from the Deora and Belechas. He was succeeded by Siluk or Silko. His issue, the *Silkawuts*, now Bhomias, are yet numerous both in Mehwo and Rardurro. Silko was succeeded by his son, Beerumdeo, who attacked the Johyas of the north, and fell in battle. His descendants, styled *Beerumot* and *Be[illegible]*, from another son, Beejo, are numerous at Paitroo, Se[illegible]oh, and Daichoo. Beerumdeo was succeeded by his son, Cho[illegible], an important name in the annals of the Rahtores. Hitherto they had attracted notice by their valo[illegible] and their raids, whenever there was a prospect of success; but they had so multiplied in eleven generations, that they now esse[illegible] a higher flight. Collecting all the branches bearing the [illegible] assaulted Mundore, slew the Purihar [illegible] of Canouj on the ancient capi[illegible]

So fluctuating are the for[illegible] courting distinction and covene[illegible] of Rahtore, Chonda assa[illegible] time before his success, Chorin[illegible], and planted the banners the lands acquired by his [illegible] of Maroo.

hospitality of a bard of the C[illegible] of the daring Rajpoot, ever yet circulate the *cavit*, or g *bhom*, 'land,' that but a short the days of his greatness, he had been expelled from all to "the lord of Mundore estors, and was indebted to the and *improvised* a stanza, arun tribe, at Kaloo; and they Kaloo: "*Chanda nuh*[illegible] quatrain, made by him when, in "*Bhoop bhyo bhy-bhith*[illegible]*yn* [illegible] and was refused admittance da remember the porridge of K[illegible]; he [illegible] the [illegible] of land looks so terrific from his balcony of Mundawur?" On established in Mundore, he ventured to assault the imperial garrison of Nagore. Here he was also successful. Thence he carried his arms south, and placed his garrison in Nadole, the capital of the province of Godwar. He married a daughter of the Purihar prince,* who had the satisfaction to see his grandson succeed to the throne of Mundore. Chonda was blessed with a progeny of fourteen sons, growing up to manhood around him. Their names were *Rinmull*,† *Sutto* Rindheer, *Linkowal*,‡ Poonja, Bheem, *Kana*, Ujo, Ramdeo, Beejo, Sehermul, Bagh, Loombo, Seoraj.

Chonda had also one daughter named *Hansa*, married to

* He was of the *Eendo* branch of the Purihars, and his daughter is called the "*Eendavotni*."

† The descendants of those whose names are in italics still exist.

‡ This is the prince mentioned in the extraordinary feud related (vol. i.) from the annals of Jessulmeer. Incidentally, we have frequent synchronism in the annals of these states, which, however slight, are of high import.

Lakha Rana of Mewar, whose son was the celebrated Koombho. It was this marriage which caused that interference in the affairs of Mewar, which had such fatal results to both states.*

The feud between his fourth son, Irinkowal, and the Bhatti prince of Poogul, being deemed singularly illustrative of the Rajpoot character, has been extracted from the annals of Jessulmeer, in another part of this work. The Rahtore chronicler does not enter into details, but merely states the result, as ultimately involving the death of Chonda—simply that "he was slain at Nagore with one thousand Rajpoots," and it is to the chronicles of Jessulmeer we are indebted for our knowledge of the manner. Chonda acceded in S. 1438 (A. D. 1382) and was slain S. 1465.

[illegible] was of the Gohil tribe. [illegible] tic, and was the most athletic [illegible] With the death of Chonda, [illegible] ores. Rana Lakha presented [illegible] Rinmull succeeded. His morlo and forty villages upon [illegible] In stature he was almost gigan resided at Cheetore, and of all the athletes of his nation. e first of his chiefs. With Nagore was again lost to the Raht own, under pretence of Rinmull with the township of I of Ajmeer, he introduced his sister's marriage, when he almo ess, the ancient capital was considered by the Rana as n to the sword, and thus the forces of Mewar added to holi, the adviser of this conveying a daughter to the vicer e township of Kaatoh, his adherents into that renowned f the Rinmull went on of the Chohans, putting the garri anis. restored it to Mewar. Khemsi Pan tax exacted for all the measure, was rewarded with a grant [illegible] then latley captured from the Kelation of civil affairs into a pilgrimage to Dwarka, and is incidentally It would be pil- suppose that the princes of Maroo had no legislative rders; but with these the poet had no bond of union. He, owever, condescends to inform us of an important measure of Rao Rinmull, namely, that he equalized the weights and measures throughout his dominions, which he divided as at present. The last act of Rinmull, in treacherously attempting to usurp the throne of the infant Rana of Mewar, was deservedly punished, and he was slain by the faithful Chonda, as related in the annals of that state. This feud originated the line of demarcation of the two states, and which remained unaltered until recent times, when Marwar at length touched the Aravali. Rao Rinmull left twenty-four sons whose issue, and that of his eldest son, Joda, form the great vassalage of Marwar. For this

* See Vol. I.

reason, however barren is a mere catalogue of names, it is of the utmost value to those who desire to see the growth of the *Frerage* of such a community.*

Names.	Clans.	Chieftainships or Fiefs.
1. Joda (succeeded)...	Joda.	
2. Kandul.....	Kandulote, conquered lands in.....	Bikaneer.
3. Champa.....	Champawut.....	Ahwa, Kaatoh, Palri, Hursola, Rohit, Jawula, Sutlana Singari.
4. Akhiraj had seven sons: 1st. Koompo.,	Koompawut.....	Asope, Kuntaleo; Khundawui, Sirriari, Sarlo, Hursore, Loo, Bajoria, Soorpoora, Dewureo.
5. Mandlo.....	Mandlote.....	Droonda.
6. Patta.....	Pattawut.....	Kurnichari, Baroh, and Desnokh.†
7. Lakha.....	Lakhawut.....	
8. Bala.....	Balawut.....	Dhoonara.
9. Jaitmul.....	Jaitmulkote.....	Palasni.
10. Kurno.....	Kurnote.....	Loonawas.
11. Roopa.....	Roopawut.....	Chooteela.
12. Natho.....	Nathawut.....	Bikaneer.
13. Doongra.....	Doongerote.....	Estates not mentioned; their descendants have become dependent on the greater clanships.
14. Sanda.....	Sandawut.....	
15. Mando.....	Mandnote.....	
16. Biroo.....	Birote.....	
17. Jugmal.....	Jugmalote.....	
18. Hempoo.....	Hampawut.....	
19. Sakto.....	Saktawut.....	
20. Kerimchund.....	———	
21. Urival.....	Urivalote.....	
22. Ketsi.....	Ketsiote.....	
23. Sutrosal.....	Sutrosalote.....	
24. Tezmal.....	Tezmalote.....	

* It is only by the possession of such knowledge that we can exercise with justice our right of universal arbitration.

† Brave soldiers, but, safe in the deep sands, they refuse to serve except on emergencies.

CHAPTER III.

Accession of Rao Joda.—Transfers the seat of government from Mundore to the new capital Jodhpoor.—The cause.—The Vana priest, or Druids of India.—Their penances.—The fourteen sons of Joda.—New settlements of Satulmeer, Mairta, Bikaneer.—Joda dies.—Anecdotes regarding him.—His personal appearance.—Rapid increase of the Rahtore race.—Names of tribes displaced thereby.—Accession of Rao Soojah.—First conflict of the Rahtores with the Imperialists.—Rape of the Rahtore virgins at Peepar.—Gallantry of Soojah.—His death.—Issue.—Succeeded by his Grandson Rao Ganga.—His uncle Saga contests the throne.—Obtains the aid of the Lodi Pathans.—Civil War.—Slain.—Baber's invasion of India.—Rana Sanga the Napoleon of the Rajpoots.—Rao Ganga sends his contingent under his grandson Rœmul.—Slain at Biana.—Death of Ganga.—Accession of Rao Maldeo.—Becomes the first among the princes of Rajpootana.—Reconquers Nagore and Ajmeer from the Lodis, Jhalore and Sewanoh from the Sindhils.—Reduce the rebellious allodial vassals. Conquest from Jessulmeer.—The Maldotes.—Takes Pokurn.—Dismantles Satulmeer.—His numerous public works.—Cantons belonging to Marwar enumerated.—Maldeo resumes several of the great estates. Makes a scale of rank hereditary in the line of Joda.—Period favourable to Maldeos, consolidation of his power.—His inhospitality to the Emperor Hemayoon.—Shere Shah invades Marwar.—Maldeo meets him.—Danger of the Imperial army.—Saved by stratagem from destruction.—Rahtore army retreats.—Devotion of the two chief clans.—Their destruction.—Akber invades Marwar.—Takes Mairta and Nagore.—Confers them on Rae Sing of Bikaneer.—Maldeo sends his second son to Akber's court.—Refused to pay homage in person.—The emperor gives the firman of Jodhpoor to Rae Sing.—Rao Maldeo besieged by Akber.—Defends Jodhpoor.—Sends his son Oodi Sing to Akber.—His reception.—Receives the title of Raja.—Chundersen maintains Rahtore independence.—Retires to Sewanoh.—Besieged and slain.—His sons.—Maldeo witnesses the subjection of his kingdom.—His death.—His twelve sons.

JODA was born at Dunlo, the appanage of his father in Mewar, in the month Bysak, S. 1484. In 1511 he obtained

Sojut, and in the month Jait, 1515 (A. D. 1459), laid the foundation of Jodhpur, to which he transferred the seat of Government from Mundore. With the superstitious Rajpoot, as with the ancient Roman, every event being decided by the omen or the augur it would be contrary to rule if so important an occasion as the change of capital, and that of an infant state, were not marked by some propitious *prestige*, that would justify the abandonment of a city won by the sword, and which had been for ages the capital of Maroo. The intervention, in this instance, was of a simple nature; neither the flight of birds, the lion's lair, or celestial manifestation; but the ordinance of an anchorite, whose abode, apart from mankind, was a cleft of the mountains of Bakurcheerea. But the behests of such ascetics are secondary only to those of the divinity, whose organs they are deemed. Like the Druids of the Celts, the Vana-prast Jogi, from the glades of the forest (*vana*) or recess in the rocks (*gopha*), issue their oracles to those whom chance or design may conduct to their solitary dwelling. It is not surprising that the mandates of such beings prove compulsory on the superstitious Rajpoot: we do not mean those squalid ascetics, who wander about India, and are objects disgusting to the eye; but the genuine *Jogi*, he who, as the term imports, mortifies the flesh, till the wants of humanity are restricted merely to what suffices to unite matter with spirit; who has studied and comprehended the mystic works, and pored over the systems of philosophy, until the full influence of *maya* (illusion) has perhaps unsettled his understanding; for whom the rules of his sect have condemned to penance and solitude; a penance so severe, that we remain astonished at the perversity of reason which can submit to it.* To these, the Druids of India, the prince and the chieftain would resort for instruction. They requested neither lands nor gold: to them 'the boasted wealth of Bokhara" was a particle of dust. Such was the

* We have seen one of these objects, self-condemned never to lie down during forty years, and there remained but three to complete the term. He had travelled much, was intelligent and learned, but far from having contracted the moroseness of the recluse, there was a benignity of mien and a suavity and simplicity of manner in him, quite enchanting. He talked of his penance with no vain-glory, and of its approaching term without any sensation. The resting position of this Druid (*vana-prast*) was by means of a rope suspended from the bough of a tree in the manner of a swing, having a cross bar, on which he reclined. The first years of this penance, he says, were dreadfully painful: swollen limbs affected him to that degree, that he expected death; but this impression had long since worn off. "Even in this, is there much vanity," and it would be a nice point to determine whether the homage of man or the approbation of the Divinity, most sustains the energies under such appalling discipline.

ascetic who recommended Joda to erect his castle on 'the Hill of Strife' (*Jodagir*), hitherto known as *Bakurcheerea*, or 'the bird's nest,' a projecting elevation of the same range on which Mundore was placed, and about four miles south of it. Doubtless its inaccessible position seconded the recommendation of the hermit, for its scarped summit renders it almost impregnable, while its superior elevation permits the sons of Joda to command, from the windows of their palace, a range of vision almost comprehending the limits of their sway. In clear weather, they can view the summits of their southern barriers, the gignatic Aravali; but in every other direction, it fades away in the boundless expanse of sandy plains. Neither the founder, nor his monitor, the ascetic, however, were engineers, and they laid the foundation of this stronghold without considering what an indispensable adjunct to successful defence was good water; but to prevent any slur on the memory of Joda, they throw the blame of this defeat on the hermit. Joda's engineer, in tracing the line of circumvallation, found it neccessary to include the spot chosen as his hermitage, and his remonstrance for undisturbed possession was treated with neglect; whether by the prince as well as the chief architect, the legend says not. The incensed Jogi pronounced an imprecation, that the new castle should possess only brackish water, and all the efforts, made by succeeding princes to obtain a better quality, by blasting the rock, have failed. The memory of the Jogi is sanctified, though his anger compelled them to construct an apparatus, whereby water for the supply of the garrison is elevated from a small lake at the foot of the rock, which being entirely commanded from the walls, an assailant would find difficult to cut off. This was the third grand event in the fortunes of the Rahtores, from the settlement of Seoji.*

Such was the abundant progeny of these princes, that the limits of their conquests soon became too contracted. The issue of the three last princes, *viz.*, the fourteen sons of Chonda, the twenty four of Rinmull, and fourteen of Joda, had already apportioned amongst them the best lands of the country, and it became necessary to conquer "fresh fields in which to sow the Rahtore seed."

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* Palli did not remain to Seoji's descendants, when they went westward and settled on the Looni; the Seesodias took it with other lands from the Purihar of Mundore. It was the feud already adverted to with Mewar which obtained for him the fertile districts of Palli and Sojut, by which his territories at length touched the Aravali, and the fears of the assassin of Rana Koombho made his parricidal son relinquish the provinces of Sambhur and Ajmeer. See Vol. I.

Joda had fourteen sons, *viz.*—

Names of Chiefs.	Clans.	Fiefs or Chieftainships.	Remarks.
1. Santul, or Satil		Satulmeer	Three Coss from Pokurn.
2. Soojoh (Sooraj)			Succeeded Joda.
3. Gomoh			No issue.
4. Doodoh	Mairtea	Mairta	Doodoh took Sambhur from the Chohans. He had one son, Beerum, whose two sons, Jeimul and Jugmal, founded the clans Jeimulote and Jugmalote.
5. Birsing		Birsingate	Nolai, In Malwa.
6. Beeko		Beekaet	Beekaneer, Independent state.
7. Bharmul		Bharmulote	Bai Bhilara ——
8. Seoraj		Seorajote	Dhoonara, On the Looni.
9. Kurmsi		Kurmsote	Kewnsir ——
10. Raimul		Raemulote	—— ——
11. Samutsi		Samutseote	Dawaroh ——
12. Beeda		Beedawut	Beedavati, In Nagore district.
13. Bunhur			Clans and fiefs not mentioned.
14. Neembo			

The eldest son, Santul, born of a female of Boondi, established himself in the north-west corner, on the lands of the Bhattis, and built a fort, which, he called Satulmeer, about five miles from Pokurn. He was killed in action by a Khan of the Sahraes (the Saracens of the Indian desert), whom he also slew. His ashes were burnt at Kusmoh, and an altar was raised over them where seven of his wives became suttees.

The fourth son, Doodoh, established himself on the plains of Mairta, and his clan, the Mairtea, is numerous, and has always sustained the reputation of being the "first swords" of Maroo. His daughter was the celebrated Meera Bae, wife of Rana Khoombo,* and he was the grandsire of the heroic Jeimul who defended Cheetore against Akber, and whose descendant, Jeyt Sing of Bednore, is still one of the sixteen chief vassals of the Oodipur court.

The sixth son, Beeko, followed the path already trod by his uncle Kandul, with whom he united, and conquered the

* See vol. I.

tracts possessed by the six Jit communities. He created a city, which he called after himself Bikaneer.

Joda outlived the foundation of his new capital thirty years, and beheld his son and grandsons rapidly peopling and subjugating the regions of Maroo. In S. 1545, aged sixty-one, he departed this life, and his ashes were housed with those of his fathers, in the ancestral abode of Mundore. This prince, the second founder of his race in these regions, was mainly indebted to the adversities of early life for the prosperity of his later years enjoyed, they led him to the discovery of worth in the more ancient, but neglected, allodial proprietors, displaced by his ancestors, and driven into the least accessible regions of the desert. It was by their aid he was enabled to redeem Mundore, when expelled by the Ghelotes, and he nobly preserved the remembrance thereof in the day of his prosperity. The warriors whose forms are sculptured from the living rock at Mundore, owe the perpetuity of their fame to the gratitude of Joda; through them he not only recovered, but enlarged his dominions.* In less than three centuries after their migration from Canouj, the Rahtores, the issue of Seoji, spread over a surface of four degrees of longitude and the same extent of latitude, or nearly 80,000 miles square and the amount at this day, in spite of the havoc occasioned by perpetual wars and famine, to 500,000 souls. While we thus contemplate the renovation of the Rahtore race, from a single scion of that magnificent tree, whose branches once overshadowed the plains of Ganga, let us withdraw from oblivion some of the many noble names they displaced, which now live only in the poet's page. Well, may the Rajpoot repeat the ever-recurring simile, "All is unstable; life is like the scintillation of the fire-fly; house and land will depart, but a good name will last for ever!" What a list of noble tribes could we enumerate now erased from independent existence by the successes of "the children of Siva" (*Siva-putra*)!† Puriharas, Eendos, Sanklas, Chohans, Gohels, Dabeys, Sindhils, Mohils, Sonigurras, Cattis, Jits, Hools, &c., and the few who still exist only as retainers of the Rahtore.

Soojoh‡ (Soorajmul) succeeded, and occupied the *gadi* of Joda during twenty-seven years, and had at least the merit of adding to the stock of Seoji.

The contentions for empire, during the vacillating dynasty

* See Vol, I.

† Seoji is the Bhaka for Siva; the ji is merely an adjunct of respect.

‡ One of the chronicles makes Satil occupy the *gadi* after Joda, during three years; but this appears a mistake—he was killed in defending Satulmer.

of the [illegible] preserved the sterile lands of Maroo from their [illegible] a second dynasty, the Shere-shahi, intervened ere *the sons of Joda'* were summoned to measure swords with the Imperialists. But in S. 1572 (A.D. 1516), a desultory band of Pathans made an incursion during the fair of the Teej,* held at the town of Peepar, and carried off one hundred and forty maidens of Maroo. The tidings of the rape of the virgin Rajpootnis were conveyed to Soojoh, who put himself at the head of such vassals as were in attendance, and pursued, overtook and redeemed them, with the loss of his own life, but not without a full measure of vengeance against the "northern barbarian." The subject is one chosen by the itinerant minstrel of Maroo, who, at the fair of the Teej, still sings the rape of the one hundred and forty virgins of Peepar, and their rescue by their cavalier prince at the price of his own blood.

Soojoh had five sons, *viz.*, 1. Bhago, who died in non-age: his son Ganga succeeded to the throne. 2. Oodoh, who had eleven sons: they formed the clan Oodawut, whose chief fiefs are Neemaj, Jytarum, Goondoche, Biratea, Raepur, &c., besides places in Mewar. 3. Saga, from whom descended the clan Sagawut; located at Burwoh. 4. Priag, who originated the Priagote clan. 5. Beerumdeo, whose son, Naroo, receives divine honours as the *putra of Maroo*, and whose statue is worshipped at Sojut. His descendants are styled Narawut Joda, of whom a branch is established at Puchpahar, in Harouti.

Ganga, grandson of Soojoh, succeeded his grandfather in S. 1572 (A.D. 1516); but his uncle, Saga, determined to contest his right to the *gadi*, invited the aid of Dowlut Khan Lodi, who had recently expelled the Rahtores from Nagore. With this auxiliary a civil strife commenced, and the sons of Joda were marshalled against each other. Ganga, confiding in the rectitude of his cause, and reckoning upon the support of the best swords of Maroo, spurned the offer of compromise made by the Pathan, of a partition of its lands between the claimants, and gave battle, in which his uncle Saga was slain, and his auxiliary, Dowlut Khan, ignominiously defeated.

Twelve years after the accession of Ganga, the sons of Joda were called on to unite their forces to Mewar to oppose the invasion of the Moguls from Turkistan. Sanga Rana, who had resumed the station of his ancestors amongst the princes of Hind, [illegible] the war, and the king of Maroo deemed it no degradation to acknowledge his supremacy and send his quotas to [illegible] of Mewar. [illegible] chronicles do more justice to [illegible] their own bards. This,

which was the last confederation [illegible]oots for national independence, was defeate[illegible]ed, in the fatal field of Biana, where, had treachery not aided the intrepid Baber, the Rahtore sword would have had its full share in rescuing the nation from the Mahomedan yoke. It is sufficient to state that a Rahtore was in the battle, to know that he would bear its brunt; and although we are ignorant of the actual position of the Rana, we may assume that their post was in the van. The young prince Raemul (grandson of Ganga), with the Mairtea chieftains, Khartoe and Rutna, and many others of note, fell against the Chagitai on this eventful day.

Ganga died* four years after this event, and was succeeded by Maldeo in S. 1588 (A.D. 1532), a name as distinguished as any of the noble princes in the chronicles of Maroo. The position of Marwar at this period was eminently excellent for the increase and consolidation of its resources. The emperor Baber found no temptation in her sterile lands to divert him from the rich plains of the Ganges, where he had abundant occupation; and the district and strongholds on the emperor's frontier of Maroo, still held by the officer of the preceding dynasty, were rapidly acquired by Maldeo, who planted his garrisons in the very heart of Dhoondar. The death of Sanga Rana, and the misfortunes of the house of Mewar, cursed with a succession of minor princes, and at once beset by the Moguls from the north, and the kings of Guzzerat, left Maldeo to the uncontrolled exercise of his power, which, like a true Rajpoot, he employed against friend and foe, and became, beyond a doubt, the first prince of Rajwarra, or, in fact, as styled by the Mahomedan historian Ferishta, "the most potent prince in Hindusthan."

The year of Maldeo's installation, he redeemed the two most important possessions of his house, Nagore and Ajmeer. In 1596 he captured Jhaloré, Sewanoh, and Bhadrajoon from the Sindhils; and two years later dispossessed the sons of Beeka of supreme power in Bikaneer. Mehwo, and the tracts on the Looni, the earliest possessions of his house, which had thrown off all dependence, he once more subjugated, and compelled the ancient allodial tenantry to hold of him in chief, and serve with their quotas. He engaged in war with the Bha[illegible] and conquered Beekumpur, where a branch of his famil[illegible] mained, and are now incorporated with the Jessulm[illegible] and under the name of Mal[illegible]n,† have the credit [illegible]

[illegible] being [illegible] not confirmed [illegible]tes on his

* The Yati's roll says [illegible] by any other authority.

† Mr. Elphinstone a[illegible] way to Cabul.

most d[illegible] robbers of the desert. [illegible] even established branches [illegible] family in Mewar and Dh[illegible]ar, took, and fortified Cha[illegible] not twenty miles south of the capital of the Cuchwaha[illegible] He captured and restored Serohi from the Deoras, from which [illegible]ouse was his mother. But Maldeo not only acquired, but determined to retain, his conquests, and erected numerous fortifications throughout the country. He enclosed the city of Jodhpur with a strong wall, besides erecting a palace and adding other works to the fortress. The circumvallations of Mairtea and its fort which he called Malkote, cost him £24,000. He dismantled Satulmeer, and with the materials fortified Pokurn, which he took from the Bhattis transplanting the entire population, which comprehended the richest merchants of Rajasthan. He erected forts at Bhadrajoon, on the hill of Bheemlode, near Sewanoh, at Goondoche, at Reeah, Peepar, and Dhoonara. He made the Koondulkote at Sewanoh, and greatly added to that of Filodi, first made by Hamira Nirawut. He also erected that bastion in Gurh Beetli (the citadel of Ajmeer) called the Kote-boorj, and shewed his skill in hydraulics by the construction of a wheel to bring water into the fort. The chronicler adds that "by the wealth of Sumbur," meaning the resources of this salt lake, he was enabled to accomplish these works, and furnishes a list of the possessions of Jodhpur at this period, which we cannot exclude: Sojut, Sambur, Mairtea, Khatah, Bednore, Ladnoo, Raepur, Bhadrajoon, Nagore, Sewanoh, Lohagurh, Jykulgurh, Bikaneer, Beenmahl, Pokurn, Barmair, Kusoli, Rewasso, Jajawur, Jhalore, Baoli, Mular, Nadole, Filodi, Sanchore, Deedwana, Chatsoo, Lowain, Mularna, Deorah, Futtehpur, Umursir, Khawur, Baniapur, Tonk, Thoda, Ajmeer, Jehajpur and Pramar-ca-Oodipoor (in Shikhavati); in all thirty-eight districts, several of which, at Jhalore, Ajmeer Tonk, Thoda, and Bednore, comprehended each three hundred and sixty townships, and there were none which did not number eighty. But of those enumerated in Dhoondar, as Chatsoo, Lowain, Tonk, Thoda, and Jehajpur in Mewar, the possession was but transient; and although Bednore and its three hundred and sixty townships were peopled by Rahtores, they were the descendants of the Mairteas under Jeimul, who became one of the great vassals of Mewar, and would, in its defence, at all times draw their swords against the land which gave them birth.* This branch of the house of Joda had for some time been too powerful for subjects, and Mairtea was resumed. To this act

* Such is the Rajpoot's notion of *swamidherma* or "fidelity to him whose salt they eat." their immediate lord, even against their king.

Mewar was indebted for the services of this chief. At the same time the growing power of others of the vassal-age of Marwar was checked by resumptions, when Jhun from the Oodawuts, and several other fiefs, were added to the fisc. The feudal allotments had never been regulated but went on increasing with the energies of the state and the progeny of its princes, each having on his brith an appanage assigned to him, until the whole land of Maroo was split into innumerable portions. Maldeo saw the necessity for checking this sub-division, and he created a gradation of ranks, and established its perpetuity in certain branches of the sons of Rinmull and Joda, which has never been altered.

Ten years of undisturbed possession were granted Maldeo to perfect his designs, ere his cares were diverted from these to his own defence. Baber, the founder of the Mogul dynasty, was dead, and his son and successor had been driven from his newly-conquered throne by his provincial lieutenant Shere Shah: so rapidly do revolutions crowd upon each other where the sword is the universal arbitrator. We have elsewhere related that the fugitive monarch sought the protection of Maldeo, and we stigmatized his conduct as unnational; but we omitted to state that Maldeo, then heir-apparent, lost his eldest, perhaps then only son Raemul in the battle of Biana, who led the aid of Marwar on that memorable day, and consequently the name of Chagitai, whether in fortune or in flight, had no great claims to his regard. But little did Maldeo dream how closely the fortunes of his house would be linked with those of the fugitive Hemayoon, and that the infant Akber, born in this emergency, was destined to revenge this breach of hospitality. Still less could the proud Rahtore, who traced his ancestry on the throne of Canouj one thousand years before the birth of the "barbarian" of Ferghana, deem it within the range of probability, that he should receive honours at such hands, or that the first title of *Raja, Rajeswar*, or 'raja, lord of rajas,' would be conferred on his own son by this infant, then rearing amidst the sand-hills at the extremity of his desert dominion! It is curious to indulge in the speculative inquiry, whether, when the great Akber girded Oodi Sing with the sword of honour, and marked his forehead with the unguent of Raja-shah, he brought to mind the conduct of Maldeo, which doomed his birth to take place in the dismal castle of Amerkote, instead of in the splendid halls of Delhi.

Maldeo derived no advantage from his inhospitality; for whether the usurper deemed his exertions insufficient to secure the royal fugitive, or felt his own power insecure with so potent a neighbour, he led an army of eighty thousand men into

Marwar. Maldeo allowed them to advance, and formed an army of fifty thousand Rajpoots to oppose him. The judgment and caution he exercised were so great, that Shere Shah, well versed in the art of war, was obliged to fortify his camp at every step. Instead of an easy conquest, he soon repented of his rashness when the admirable dispositions of the Rajpoots made him dread an action, and from a position whence he found it impossible to retreat. For a month the armies lay in the sight of each other, everyday the king's situation becoming more critical, and from which he saw not the slightest chance of extrication. In this exigence he had recourse to one of those stratagems which have often operated successfully on the Rajpoot, by sowing distrust in his mind as to the fidelity of his vassals. He penned a letter, as if in correspondence with them, which he contrived to have dropped, as by accident, by a messenger sent to negotiate. Perhaps the severity of the resumptions of estates seconded this scheme of Shere Shah; for when the stipulated period for the attack had arrived, the raja countermanded it. The reasons for this conduct, when success was apparent, were soon propagated; when one or two of the great leaders, in order to demonstrate their groundlessness, gave an instance of that devotion with which the annals of these states abound. At the head of twelve thousand, they attacked and forced the imperial entrenched camp, carrying destruction even to the quarters of the emperor; but multitudes prevailed, and the patriotic clans were almost annihilated. Maldeo, when too late, saw through the stratagem which had made him doubt the loyalty of his vassals. Superstition, and the reproaches of his chieftains for his unworthy suspicion, did the rest; and this first *levee en masse* of the descendants of Seoji, arrayed in defence of their national liberties, was defeated. With justice did the usurper pay homage to their gallantry, when he exclaimed, on his deliverance from this peril, "he had nearly lost the empire of Hindusthan for a landful of barley."*

Maldeo was destined to outlive the Shere-shahi dynasty, and to see the imperial crown of India once more encircle the brows of the fugitive Hemayoon.† It had been well for the Rahtores had his years been lengthened; for his mild

* In allusio to the poverty of the soil, as unfitted to produce richer grains.

† There is a biographical account of this monarch, during his exile in Persia written by his *abdar*, or 'cup-bearer,' in the library of Major W. Yule, of Edinburgh, and which, when translated, will complete the series of biography of the members of the house of Timour.

disposition and natural indolence of character gave them some chance that these qualities would be their best advocate. But he did not long survive the restoration. Whether the mother of his successor, prince Akber not yet fifteen, stimulated by the recollection of her misfortunes, nursed his young animosity against Maldeo for the miseries of Amerkote, or whether it was merely an act of cautionary policy to curb the Rajpoot power, which was inconsistent with his own, in S. 1617 (A.D. 1561) he invaded Marwar, and laid siege to Malkote or Mairtea, which he took after an obstinate and sanguinary defence, part of the garrison cutting their way through his host, and making good their retreat to their prince. The important castle of Nagore was also captured; and both these strongholds and their lands were conferred by Akber on the younger branch of the family, Rae Sing, prince of Bikaneer, now established in independence of the parent state, Jodhpur.

In 1625 (A.D. 1569), Maldeo succumbed to necessity; and in conformity with the times, sent his second son, Chundersen, with gifts to Akber, then at Ajmeer, which had become an integral part of the monarchy; but Akber was so dissatisfied with the disdainful bearing of the desert king, who refused personally to pay his court, that he not only guaranteed the free possession of Bikaneer to Rae Sing, but presented him with the *firman* for Jodhpur itself, with supremacy over his race. Chundersen appears to have possessed all the native pride of the Rahtore, and to have been prepared to contest his country's independence, in spite of Akber and the claims of his elder brother, Oodi Sing, who eventually was more supple in ingratiating himself into the monarch's favour. At the close of life, the old Rao had to stand a siege in his capital, and after a brave but fruitless resistance, was obliged to yield homage, and pay it in the person of his son, Oodi Sing, who, attending with a contingent, was enrolled amongst the commanders of 'one thousand;' and shortly after was invested with the title of *Mota Raja*, or 'the fat Raja,' by which epithet alone he is designated in the annals of that period.

Chundersen, with a considerable number of the brave vassals of Maroo, determined to cling to indepencence and the rude fare of the desert, rather than servilely follow in the train of the despot. When driven from Jodhpur, they took post in Sewanoh, in the western extremity of the state, and there held out to the death. For seventeen years he maintained his title to the *gadi*, and divided the allegiance of the Rahtores with his elder brother, Oodi Sing, (though supported by the king and stood the storm in which he nobly fell, leaving three sons, [illegible]rsen, Aiskurn, and Rae Sing, who fought a duel with Rao Sooran,

of Sirohi, and was slain, with twenty-four of his chiefs,* near the to[illegible] of Duttani.

[illegible]eo, though he submitted to acknowledge the surpremac[illegible]e emperor, was at least spared the degradation of seeing a daughter of his blood bestowed upon the opponent of his faith; he died soon after the title was conferred on his son, which sealed the dependence of Maroo. His latter days were a dismal contrast to those which witnessed his conquests in almost every part of Rajpootana, but he departed from this world in time to preserve his own honour untarnished, with the character of the most valiant and energetic Rajpoot of his time. Could he have added to his years and maintained their ancient vigour, he might, by a junction with Pertap of Mewar, who single-handed commenced his career just as Maldeo's closed, have maintained Rajpoot independence against the rising power of the Mogulst.

Maldeo, who died S. 1671 (A.D. 1615), had twelve sons:—

1. Ram Sing, who was banished, and found refuge with the Rana of Mewar; he had seven sons, the fifth of whom, Kesoodas, fix[illegible] at Chooly Maheswur.
2. Raemul, who was killed in the battle of Biana.
3. Oodi Sing, Raja of Marwar.
4. Chundersen, by a wife of the Jhala tribe; had three sons, the eldest, Dogursen, got BINAI; he had three sons, Kurrun, Kanji, and Kahun.
5. Aiskurn[illegible] descendants at Jooneah.
6. Gopalda[illegible] killed at Eedur.
7. Pirthiraj; descendants at Jhalore.
8. Ruttnsi; descendants at Bhadrajoon.
9. Bairaj; descendants at Ahari.

10. Bikramajeet
11. Bhan
12. ——

} No notice of them.

* It was fought with a certain number on each side, Rahtores against Deoras, a branch of the Chohans, the two bravest of all the Rajpoot races. It reminds us of some of the duels related by Froissart.

† See Annals of Mewar.

CHAPTER IV.

Altered condition of the princes.—Installation of Raja Oodi Sing.—Not acknowledged by the most powerful clans until the death of Chundersen.—Historical retrospect.—The three chief epochs of Marwar history, from the conquest of its dependence on the empire.—Order of succession changed, with change of capital, in Mewar, Amber, and Marwar.—Branches to which the succession is confined.—Dangers of mistaking these.—Examples.—Joda regulates the fiefs.—The eight great nobles of Marwar.—These regulations maintained by Maldeo, who added to the secondary fiefs.—Fiefs perpetuated in the elder branches.—The brothers and sons of Joda.—Various descriptions of fiefs.—Antiquity of Rajpoot feudal system. Akber maintains it.—Paternity of Rajpoot sovereigns not a fiction, as in Europe.—The lowest Rajpoot claims kindered with the sovereign.—The name Oodi Sing, fatal to Rajpootana.—Bestows his sister, Jod Bae on Akber.—Advantages to the Rahtores of this marriage.—Numerous progeny of Oodi Sing.—Established the fiefs of Gungurh and Pisangurh.—Kishengurh and Rutlam.—Remarkable death of Raja Oodi Sing.—Anecdotes.—Issue of Oodi Sing.—Table of descent.

The death of Maldeo formed an important epoch in the annals of the Rahtores. Up to this period, the will had waited upon the wish of the gallant descendants of Siva; but now the vassals of Maroo acknowledged one mightier than they. The banner of the empire floated pre-eminent over the 'panch-ranga,' the five-coloured flag, which had led the Rahtores from victory to victory, and waved from the sand-hills of Amerkote to the salt-lake of Sambhur; from the desert bordering the Garah to the peaks of the Aravali. Henceforward, the Rahtore princes had, by their actions or subservience, to ascend by degrees the steps to royal favour. They were required to maintain a contingent of their proud vassals, headed by the heir, to serve at the Mogul's pleasure. Their deeds own them, not ignobly, the grace of the imperial court; but had slavish submission been the sole path to elevation, the Rahtore princes would never have attained a grade beyond the first *'munsub,'* conferred on Oodi Sing. Yet though streams of wealth enriched the barren plains of Maroo; although a portion of the spoils of Golconda and Beejipur augmented its treasures,

decorated its palaces, and embellished its edifices and mausoleums; although the desert kings took the 'right hand' of all the feudality of Hind, whether indigenous or foreign—a feudal assemblage of no less than seventy-six petty kingdoms—yet the Rahtore felt the sense of his now degraded condition, and it often burst forth even in the presence of the suzerain.

Maldeo's death occurred in S. 1625; but the chronicles do not admit of Oodi Sing's elevation until the death of his brother, Chundersen, from which period we may reckon that he was, though junior, the choice both of his father and the nobles, who did not approve of Oodi Sing's submission to Akber. In fact, the Raja led the royal forces against the most powerful of his vassals, and resumed almost all the possessions of the Mairteas, and weakened the others.

Before we proceed to trace the course pursued by Oodi Sing, who was seated upon the cushion of Maldeo in S. 1640 (A. D. 1584), let us cast a short retrospect over the annals of Maroo, since the migration of the grandson of the potentate of Canouj, which, compared with the ample page of western history, present little more than a chronicle of hard names, though not destitute of facts interesting to political science.

In the table before the reader, aided by the explanations in the text, he will see the whole process of the conquest, peopling, and settlement of an extensive region, with its partition or allotments amongst an innumerable *frerage* (*bhyad*), whose children continue to hold them as vassals of their king and brother, the descendant of their mutual ancestor Sivaji.

We may divide the annals of Marwar, from the migration of Sivaji from Canouj to the accession of Oodi Sing, into three distinct epochs:

1st. From the settlement of Seoji in the land of Kher, in A. D. 1212, to the conquest of Mundore by Chonda in A. D. 1381;

2nd. From the conquest of Mundore to the founding of Jodhpur, in A. D. 1459; and

3rd. From the founding of Jodhpur to the accession of Oodi Sing, in A. D. 1584, when the Rahtores acknowledged the supremacy of the empire.

The two first epochs were occupied in the subjugation of the western portion of the desert from the ancient allodiality; nor was it until Chonda conquered Mundore, on the decline of the Chohans of the east, that the fertile lands on either side the Looni were formed into fiefs for the children of Rinmull and Joda. A change of capital with the Rajpoot is always productive of change in the internal organization of

the state; and not unfrequently the race changes its appellation with its capital. The foundation of Jodhpur was a new era, and henceforth the throne of Maroo could only be occupied by the tribe of Joda, and from branches not constituting the vassals of the crown, who were cut off from succession. This is a peculiar feature in Rajpoot policy, and is common to the whole race, as will be hereafter more distinctly pointed out in the annals of Ajmeer.

Joda, with the ambition of the founder of a state, gave a new form to the feudal institutions of his country. Necessity, combined with pride, led him to promulgate a statute of limitation of the sub-infeudation of Maroo. The immense progeny of his father Rinmull, twenty-four sons, and his own, of fourteen, almost all of whom had numerous issue, rendered it requisite to fix the number and extent of the fiefs; and amongst them, henceforward constituting permanently the *frerage* of Maroo, the lands were partitioned, Kandul having emigrated and established his own numerous issue, the Kandulotes, in Bikaneer. The two brothers next to Joda, *viz.*, Champa, and Koompa, with his two sons, Doodo and Kurmsi, and his grandson, Oodoh, were declared the heads of the feudal association under their names, the Champawuts, Kampawuts Mairteas (sons of Doodo), Kurmsotes, and Oodawuts, continue to be "the pillars of Maroo." Eight great estates, called the *aght thacoorait*, or 'eight lordships' of Marwar, each of the nominal annual value of fifty thousand rupees (£, 5,000) were settled on these persons, and their immense influence has obtained many others for younger branches of their clans. The title of the first noble of Maroo was given to Champa and his issue, who have often made its princes tremble on their thrones. Besides these, inferior appanages were settled on the junior branches, brothers, sons, and grandsons of Joda, which were also deemed hereditary and irresumable; to use their own phrase, their *bath*,* or 'allotment,' to which they consider their title as sacred as that of their prince to his throne, of whom they say, "When our services are acceptable, then is he our lord, when not, we are again his brothers and kin, claimants, and laying claim to the land."†

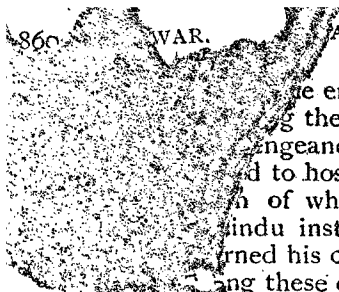
Rao Maldeo confirmed this division of Joda, though he increased the secondary fiefs, and as the boundaries of Marwar were completed in his reign, it was essentially necessary to confirm the limitation. The feudal states of Marwar are,

* From *bat'na*, 'to divide, to partition.'

† See the remonstrance of the vassal descendants of these chiefs, expelled their patrimony by their prince, to the English enemy, Vol I.

therefore, perpetuated in the offspring of [illegible] to Maldeo, and a distinction exists betwe[illegible] subsequently conferred; the first, being ob[illegible] are deemed irrevocable, and must be perpetua[illegible] on the failure of lineal issue; whereas the oth[illegible] be resumed and added to the fisc whence it [illegible] fiscal domain of the Rajpoot princes cannot, s[illegible] tionary lore, be alienated for more than a life-in[illegible] wise rule, though visible in anecdotes of pas[illegible]ys, has been infringed with their general disorganization. These instances, it may be asserted, afford the distinctions of allodial and feudal lands. Of the numerous clans, the issue of Seoji to Joda, which are spread over the northern and western parts of the state, some, partly from the difficulty of their position, partly from a feeling of respect to their remote ancestry, enjoy almost entire independence. Yet they recognize the prince of Maroo as their liege lord when his crown is endangered, and render homage on his accession or any great family event. These clans hold without grant or fine, and may properly be called the allodial chieftains. Of this number we may enumerate the lordships of Barmair, Kotorah, Seo, Khulsoond, &c. Others there are who, though less independent, may also be styled the allodiality of Marwar, who are to furnish their quotas when demanded, and perform personal homage on all great days of rejoicing; of these are Mehwo, Sindri, &c. The ancient clans scattered over the land, of serving the more modern chieftains, are recognized by their patronymic distinctions, by those versed in the chronicles: though many bear the names of Doohurea, Mangulea, Oohur, and Dhandul, without knowing them to be Rahtore. The mystic page of the bard is always consulted previous to any marriage, in order to prevent a violation of the matrimonial canons of the Rajpoots, which are stricter than the Mosaic, and this keeps up the knowledge of the various branches of their own and other races, which would otherwise perish.

Whatever term may be applied to these institutions of a martial race, and which for the sake of being more readily understood we have elsewhere called, and shall continue to designate, 'feudal,' we have not a shadow of doubt that they were common to the Rajpoot races from the remotest ages, and that Seoji conveyed them from the seat of his ancestors, Canouj. A finer picture does not exist of the splendour of a feudal array than the camp of its last monarch, Jeichand, in the contest with the Chohan. The annals of each and every state bear evidence to a system strictly parallel to that of Europe; more especially Mewar, where, thirteen hundred



e entire feudatories of the state throwing
g their liege lord defiance, and threatening
ngeance. Yet, having 'eaten his salt,' they
d to hostilities till a whole year had elapsed,
n of which they deposed him.* Akber, who
indu institutions, borrowed much from them,
rned his own regulations.

ng these customs with analogous ones in the west, the reader should never lose sight of one point, which must influence the analogy, *viz.*, the patriarchal form which characterizes the feudal system in all countries; and as, amongst the Rajpoots, all their vassalage is of their own kin and blood (save a slight mixture of foreign nobles as a counterpoise), the *paternity* of the sovereign is no fiction, as in Europe; so that from the son of Champa, who takes the right hand of his prince, to the meanest vassal, who serves merely for his '*paiti*'† (rations), all are linked by the tie of consanguinity, of which it is difficult to say whether it is most productive of evil or good, since it has afforded examples as brilliant and as dark as any in the history of mankind. The devotion which made twelve thousand, out of the fifty thousand, "sons of Joda," prove their fidelity to Maldeo, has often been emulated even to the present day.

The chronicles, as before stated, are at variance with regard to the accession of Oodi Sing: some date it from the death of Maldeo, in S. 1625 (A. D. 1569); others from that of his elder brother, Chundersen, slain in the storm of Sewanoh. The name of Oodi appears one of evil portent in the annals of Rajasthan.‡ While "Oodi, *the fat*," was inhaling the breeze of imperial power, which spread a haze of prosperity over Maroo, Pertap of Mewar, the idol of the Rajpoots, was enduring every hardship in the attempt to work out his country's independence, which had been sacrificed by his father, Oodi Sing. In this he failed, but he left a name hallowed in the hearts of his countrymen, and immortalized in the imperishable verse of the bard.

On the union of the imperial house with that of Jodhpur, by the marriage of Jod Bae to Akber, the emperor not only restored all possessions he had wrested from Marwar, with

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* See Vol. I.

† Literally, 'a bellyful.'

‡ Instead of being, as it imports, the "ascending," (1) it should for ever, in both the houses of Maroo and Mewar, signify "setting;" the pusillanimity of the one sunk Mewar, that of the other Marwar.

(1) *Oodya*, is Sanskrit, (*Oodi*, in the dialect,) is tantamount to *Oriens*, the point of rising:—*ex. Udyaditya*, 'the rising sun.'

the exception of Ajmeer, but several rich districts in Malwa, whose revenues doubled the resources of his own fiscal domain. With the aid of his imperial brother-in-law, he greatly diminished the power of the feudal aristocracy, and clipped the wings of almost all the greater vassals, while he made numerous sequestrations of the lands of the ancient allodiality and lesser vassals; so that it is stated, that either by new settlement or confiscation, he added fourteen hundred villages to the fisc. He resumed almost all the lands of the sons of Doodoh, who, from their abode, were termed *Mairtea*; took Jaitarun from the Oodawuts, and other towns of less note from the sons of Champa and Koompo.

Oodi Sing was not ungrateful for the favours heaped upon him by the emperor, for whom his Rahtores performed many signal services: for the raja was latterly too unwieldy for any steed to bear him to battle. The 'king of the Desert' (the familiar epithet applied to him by Akber) had a numerous progeny; no less than thirty-four legitimate sons and daughters, who added new clans and new estates to the feudal association of Maroo: of these the most conspicuous are Govingurh and Pisangurh; while some obtained settlements beyond its limits which became independent and bear the name of the founders. Of these are Kishengurh and Rutlam in Malwa.

Oodi Sing died thirteen years after his inauguration on the cushion of Joda, and thirty-three after the death of Maldeo. The manner of his death, as related in the biographical sketches termed '*Kheat*,' affords such a specimen of superstition and of Rajpoot manners that it would be improper to omit it. The narrative is preceded by some reflections on the moral education of the Rahtore princes, and the wise restraints imposed upon them under the vigilant control of chiefs of approved worth and fidelity; so that, to use the words of the text, "they often passed their twentieth year, ignorant of woman." If the 'fat raja' had ever known this moral restraint, in his riper years he forgot it; for although he had no less than twenty-seven queens, he cast the eye of desire on the virgin-daughter of a subject, and that subject a Brahmin.

It was on the raja's return from court to his native land, that he beheld the damsel, and he determined, notwithstanding the sacred character of her father and his own obligations as the dispenser of law and justice, to enjoy the object of his admiration. The Brahmin was an '*Aya-punti*,' or votary of *Aya-Mata*, whose shrine is at Bai-Bhilara. These sectarians of Maroo, very different from the abstinent Brahmins of Bengal, eat flesh, drink wine, and share in all the common enjoyments of life with the martial spirits around them. Whether the

scruples of the daughter were likely to be easily overcome by her royal tempter, or whether the raja threatened force, the '*Kheat*' does not inform us; but as there was no other course by which the father could save her from pollution but by her death, he resolved to make it one of vengeance and horror. He dug a sacrificial pit, and having slain his daughter, cut her into fragments, and mingling therewith pieces of flesh from his own person, made the '*homa*,' or burnt sacrifice to Aya Mata, and as the smoke and flames ascended, he pronounced an imprecation on the raja: "Let peace be a stranger to him! and in three Pahars,* three days, and three years, let me have revenge!" Then exclaiming, "My future dwelling is the *Dabi Baori*!" sprung into the flaming pit. The horrid tale was related to the raja, whose imagination was haunted by the shade of the Brahmin; and he expired at the assigned period, a prey to unceasing remorse.

Superstition is sometimes made available for moral ends; and the shade of the *Aya-punti* Brahmin of Bhilara has been evoked, in subsequent ages, to restrain and lead unto virtue libidinous princes, when all other control has been unavailing. The celebrated Jeswunt Sing, the great grandson of Oodi, had an amour with the daughter of one of his civil officers and which he carried on at the *Dabi Baori*† But the avenging ghost of the Brahmin interposed between him and his wishes. A dreadful struggle ensued, in which Jeswunt lost his senses, and no effort could banish the impression from his mind. The ghost persecuted his fancy, and he was generally believed to be possessed with a wicked spirit, which, when exorcised, was made to say he would only depart on the self-sacrifice of a chief equal in dignity to Jeswunt. Nahur Khan, 'the tiger lord,' chief of the Koompawut clan, who led the van in all his battles, immediately offered his head in expiation for his prince; and he had no sooner expressed this loyal determination, than the holy men who exorcised the spirit, caused it to descend into a vessel of water, and having waved it thrice round his head, they presented it to Nahur Khan who drank it off, and Jeswunt's senses were instantly restored. This miraculous transfer of the ghost is implicitly believed by every chief of Rajasthan, by whom Nahur was called 'the faithful of the faithful.' Previous to dying, he called his son, and imposed on him and his descendants, by the solemnity of an oath, the abjuration of the office of *Purdhan*, or hereditary premier of Marwar, whose dignity involved such a

* A pahar is a watch of the day, about three hours.
† A reservoir excavated by one of the Dabi tribe.

sacrifice; and from that day, the Champawuts of Alwa succeeded the Koompawuts of Asope, who renounced the first seat on the right for that on the left of their princes.

We shall conclude the reign of Oodi Sing with the register of his issue from 'the Book of Kings.' It is by no means an unimportant document to such as are interested in these singular communities, and essentially useful to those who are called upon to interfere in their national concerns. Here we see the affinities of the branch (*ucha*) to the parent tree which, in one short century, has shaded the whole land; and to which the independents of Kishengurh, Roopnagurh, and Rutlam, as well as the feudal chiefs of Govingurh, Khyrwa, and Pisangurh, all issues from Oodi Sing, look for protection.

Issue of Raja Oodi Sing:—

1. Soor Sing, succeeded.
2. Akhiraj.
3. Bugwandas; had issue Bullo, Gopaldas, Govindas, who founded Govingurh.
4. Nururdas
5. Sukut Sing } had no issue attaining eminence.
6. Bhoput

7. Dilput had four sons; 1. Muhesdas, whose son, Rutna founded Rutlam;* 2. Jeswunt Sing; 3. Pertap Sing; 4. Kunirain.

8. Jaet had four sons; 1. Hur Sing; 2. Umra; 3. Kunniram; 4. Praimraj, whose descendants held lands in the tract called Bullati and Khyrwa.

9. Kishen, in S. 1669 (A.D. 1613), founded Kishengurh; he had three sons, Sehesmul, Jugmul, Bharmul, who had Hari Sing, who had Roop Sing, who founded Roopnagurh.

10. Jeswunt, his son Maun founded Manpura, his issue called Manroopa Joda.

11. Kessoo founded Pisangurh.

12. Ramdas,
13. Poorunmul,
14. Madoodas,
15. Mohundas,
16. Keerut Sing.
17. —— } No mention of them.

And seventeen daughters not registered in the chronicle.

* Rutlam, Kishengurh, and Roopnagurh, are independent, and all under separate protection of the British Government.

CHAPTER V.

Accession of Raja Soor.—His military talents obtain him honours.—Reduce Rao Soortan of Sirohi.—Commands against the King of Guzerat.—Battle of Dhundoca gained by the Raja.—Wealth and honours acquired.—Gifts to the bards.—Commanded against Umra Balecha.—Battle of the Rewa.—Slays the Chohan.—Fresh honours.—Raja Soor and his son Guj Sing attend the court of Jehangir.—The heir of Marwar invested with the sword by the Emperor's own hands.—Escalade of Jhalore.—Raja Guj attends Prince Khoorm against the Rana of Mewar.—Death of Raja soor.—Maledictory pillar erected on the Nerbudda.—The Rahtor echiefs' dissatisfaction at their long detention from their native land.—Raja Soor embellishes Jodhpur.—His issue.—Accession of Raja Guj.—Invested with the Rajaship of Boorhanpur.—Made Viceroy of the Dekhan.—The compliment paid to his contingent.—His various actions.—Receives the title of Dulthumna, or 'barrier of the host.'—Causes of Rajpoot influence on the Imperial succession.—The Sultan Purvez and Khoorm, sons of Rajpoot Princesses—Intrigues of the Queens to secure the succession to their immediate offspring.—Prince Khoorm plots against his brother.—Endeavours to gain Raja Guj, but fails.—The Prince causes the chief adviser of Raja Guj to be assassinated.—Raja Guj quits the royal army.—Prince Khoorm assassinates his brother Purvez.—Proceeds to depose his father Jehangir, who appeals to the fidelity of the Rajpoot Princes.—They rally round the throne, and encounter the rebel army near Benares.—The Emperor slights the Rahtore Prince, which proves nearly fatal to his cause.—The rebels defeated.—Flight of Prince Khoorm.—Raja Guj slain on the Guzerat frontier.—His second son, Raja Jeswunt, succeeds.—Reasons for occasional departure from the rules of primogeniture amongst the Rajpoots.—Umra the elder, excluded the succession.—Sentence of banishment pronounced against him.—Ceremony of des-vatu, or 'exile,' described.—Umra repairs to the Mogul court.—Honours conferred upon him.—His tragical death.

SOOR SING succeeded in S. 1651 (A. D. 1595). He was serving with the Imperial forces at Lahore, where he had commanded since S. 1648, when intelligence reached him of his

father's death. His exploits and services were of the most brilliant nature, and had obtained for him, even during his father's life, the title of 'Sowae Raja,' and a high grade amongst the dignitaries of the empire. He was commanded by Akber to reduce the arrogant prince of Sirohi, who, trusting to the natural strength of his mountainous country, still refused to acknowledge a liege lord. This service well accorded with his private views, for he had a feud (*wer*) with Rao Soortan, which, according to the chronicle, he completely revenged. "He avenged his feud with Soortan and plundered Sirohi. The Rao had not a pallet left to sleep upon, but was obliged to make a bed for his wives upon the earth." This appears to have humbled the Deora, "who, in his pride, shot his arrows at the sun for daring to shine upon him." Soortan accepted the Imperial firman in token of submission, and agreed to serve with a contingent of his hardy clansmen in the war then entrusted to Raja Soor against the king of Guzerat, whose success we shall relate in the simple language of the chronicle:—"The Raja took the *pan* against the king Mozuffur, with the title of viceroy of Guzerat. The armies met Dhundoca, where a terrible conflict ensued. The Rahtores lost many valiant men, but the Shah was defeated, and lost all the insignia of his greatness. He sent the spoil of seventeen thousand towns to the king, but kept a crore of *dribs* for himself, which he sent to Jodhpur, and therewith he enlarged the town and fort. For this service Akber increased his *munsub*, and sent him a sword, with a khelat, and a grant of fresh lands."

Raja Soor, it appears in the sequel, provided liberally for the bards; "for no less than 'six lords of verse,' whose names are given, had in gift £10,000 each of the spoils of Guzerat, as incentives to song."

On the conquest of Guzerat, Raja Soor was ordered to the Dekhan. "He obeyed, and with thirteen thousand horse, ten large guns, and twenty elephants, he fought three grand battles. On the Rewa (Nerbudda) he attacked Umra Balecha,* who had five thousand horse, whom he slew, and reduced all his country. For this service the king sent him a *nobut* (kettle-drum), and conferred on him Dhar and its domain."

On Akber's death and the accession of Jehangir, Soor Sing attended at court with his son and heir, Guj Sing, whom the king with his own hands invested with the sword, for his bravery in the escalade of Jhalore, which had been conquered by the monarch of Guzerat and added to his domain. The poet thus relates the event: "Guj† was commanded against

* Balecha is one of the Chohan tribes.

† *Gaj*, 'the elephant.'

Behari Pathan ; his war-trump sounded ; Arabudha heard and trembled. What took Alla-o-din years, Guj accomplished in three months ; he escaladed Jhalindra * sword in hand ; many a Rahtore of fame was killed, but he put to the sword seven thousand Pathans, whose spoils were sent to the king,"

Raja Soor, it would appear, after the overthrow of the dynasty of Guzerat, remained at the capital, while his son and heir, Guj Sing, attended the king's commands, and soon after the taking of Jhalore, was ordered with the Marwar contingent against Rana Umra of Mewar : it was at the very moment of its expiring liberties, † for the chronicle merely adds, "Kurrun agreed to serve the king, and Guj Sing returned to Tarragurh.‡ The king increased both his own *munsub* (dignity) and that of his father, Raja Soor."

Thus the Rajpoot chronicler, solicitous only to record the fame of his own princes, does not deem it necessary to concern himself with the agents conjoined with them, so that a stranger to the events of the period would imagine, from the high relief given to their actions, that the Rahtore princes commanded in all the great events described ; for instance, that just mentioned, involving the submission of the Rana, when Raja Guj was merely one of the great leaders who accompanied the Mogul heir-apparent, Prince Khoorm, on this memorable occasion. In the Diary of Jehangir, the emperor, recording this event, does not even mention the Rahtore prince, though he does those of Kotah and Duttea, as the instruments by which Prince Khoorm carried on the negociation ;§ from which we conclude that Raja Guj merely acted a military part in the grand army which then invaded Mewar.

Raja Soor died in the Dekhan, in S. 1676 (A. D. 1620). He added greatly to the lustre of the Rahtore name, was esteemed by the emperor, and, as the bard expresses it, "His spear was frightful to the Southron." Whether Raja Soor disapproved of the exterminating warfare carried on in these regions, or was exasperated at the unlimited service he was doomed to, which detained him from his native land, he, in his last moments, commanded a pillar to be erected with a curse engraven thereon, imprecated upon any of his race who should once cross the Nerbudda. From his boyhood he had been almost an alien to his native land ; he had accompanied his father wherever he led the aid of Maroo, was serving at Lahore at the period of

* Classical appellation of Jhalore.

† The Chronicle says, "In S. 1669 (A.D. 1613), the king formed an army against the Rana :" which accords exactly with the date in the emperor's own memoirs.

‡ Ajmeer, of which the citadel is styled Tarragurh.

§ See Annals of Mewar, Vol. I.

his accession, and died far from the monuments of his fathers, in the heart of the peninsula. Although the emperor was not ungrateful in his estimate of these services,—for Raja Soor held by patent no less than "sixteen grand fiefs"* of the empire, and with the title of *Sowae* raised above all the princes, his associates at court,—it was deemed no compensation for perpetual absence from the hereditary domain, thus abandoned to the management of servants. The great vassals, his clansmen, participated in this dissatisfaction, separated from their wives, families, and estates ; for to them the pomp of Imperial greatness, or the sunshine of court-favour, was as nothing when weighed against the exercise of their influence within their own cherished patrimony. The simple fare of the desert was dearer to the Rahtore than all the luxuries of the Imperial banquet, which he turned from with disgust to the recollection of 'the green pulse of Mundawur,' or his favourite *rabri*, or 'maize porridge' the prime dish with the Rahtore. These minor associations conjoined with greater evils to increase the *mal de pays*, of whose influence no human being is more susceptible than the brave Rajpoot.

Raja Soor greatly added to the beauty of his capital and left several works which bear his name; amongst them, not the least useful in that arid region, is the lake called the *Soor Sagur*, or 'Warrior's Sea,' which irrigates the gardens on its margin. He left six sons and seven daughters, of whose issue we have no account, *viz.*, Guj Sing, his successor, Subbul Sing, Beerundeo, Bejoy Sing, Pertap Sing, and Jeswunt Sing.

Raja Guj, who succeeded his father in A. D 1620, was born at Lahore, and the *teeka* of investiture found him in the royal camp at Boorhanpur. The bearer of it was Darab Khan, the son of the Khankhana, or premier noble of the emperor's court, who, as the Imperial proxy, girt Raja Guj with the sword. Besides the 'nine castle' (*Nokotee Marwar*), his patrimony, his patent contained a grant of 'seven divisions' of Guzerat, of the district of Jhulaye in Dhoondar ; and what was of more consequence to him though of less intrinsic value, that of Musaoda in Ajmeer, the heir-loom of his house. Besides these marks of distinction, he received the highest proof of confidence in the elevated post of viceroy of the Dekhan ; and, as a special testimony of Imperial favour, the Rahtore cavaliers

* Of these, nine were the sub-divisions of his native dominions, styled "The Nine Castles of Maroo;" for on becoming one of the great feudatories of the empire, he made a formal surrender of these, receiving them again by grant, renewed on every lapse, with all the ceremonies of investiture and relief. Five were in Guzerat, one in Malwa, and one in the Dekhan. We see that thirteen thousand horse was the contingent of Marwar for the lands thus held.

composing his contingent were exempted from the *dagh*, that is, having their steeds branded with the Imperial signet. His elder son, Umra Sing, served with his father in all his various battles, to the success of which his conspicuous gallantry on every occasion contributed. In the sieges and battles of Kirkigurh, Golconda, Kelena, Pernala, Gujungurh, Asair and Satarra, the Rahtores had their full share of glory, which obtained for their leader the title of *Dulthumna*, or 'barrier of the host.' We have already* remarked the direct influence which the Rajpoot princes had in the succession to the Imperial dignity, consequent upon the intermarriage of their daughters with the crown and the various interests arising therefrom. Sultan Purvez, the elder son, and heir of Jehangir, was the issue of a princess of Marwar, while the second son, Khoorm, as his name imports, was the son of a Cuchwaha† princess of Amber. Being the offspring of polygamy, and variously educated, these princes were little disposed to consider consanguinity as a bond of natural union; and their respective mothers, with all the ambition of their race, thought of nothing but obtaining the diadem for the head of their children. With either of these rival queens, the royal children who were not her own, had no affinity with her or hers, and these feelings were imparted from the birth to their issue, and thus it too often happened that the heir of the throne was looked upon with an envious eye, as a bar to be removed at all hazards. This evil almost neutralized the great advantages derived from intermarriage with the indigenous races of India; but it was one which would have ceased with polygamy. Khoorm felt his superiority over his elder brother, Purvez, in all but the accidental circumstance of birth. He was in every respect a better man, and a braver and more successful soldier; and, having his ambition thus early nurtured by the stimulants administered by Bheem of Mewar and the intrepid Mohabet,‡ he determined to remove this barrier between him and the crown. His views were first developed whilst leading the armies in the Dekhan, and he communicated them to Raja Guj of Marwar, who held the post of honour next the prince, and solicited his aid to place him on the throne. Gratitude for the favours heaped upon him by the king, as well as the natural bias to Purvez, made the Raja turn a deaf ear to his application. The prince tried to gain his point through Govindas, a Rajpoot of the Bhatti tribe, one of the foreign rajas of Maroo, and confidential adviser of

* See Vol. I.

† *Cuchwa* and *hoorm* are synonimous terms for the race which rules Amber,—the *Torto* of Rajasthan.

‡ A Rajpoot of the Rana's house converted to the faith.

his prince; but, as the annals say, "Govindas reckoned no one but his master and the king." Frustrated in this, Khoorm saw no hopes of success but by disgusting the Rahtores, and he caused the faithful Govindas to be assassinated by Kishen Sing;* on which Raja Guj, in disgust, threw up his post, and marched to his native land. From the assassination of Purvez, which soon followed, the deposal of his father appeared but a step; and Khoorm had collected means, which he deemed adequate to the design, when Jehangir appealed to the fidelity of the Rajpoots, to support him against filial ingratitude and domestic treason: and, in their general obedience to the call, they afforded a distinguished proof of the operation of the first principle, *Gadi-ca-án*, allegiance to the throne, often obeyed without reference to the worth of its occupant. The princes of Marwar, Amber, Kotal and Boondi put themselves at the head of their household retainers, on this occasion, which furnishes a confirmation of a remark already made, that the respective annals of the states of Rajasthan so rarely engage the contemporaneous events of the rest, as to lead to the conclusion, that by the single force of each state this rebellion was put down. This remark will be further exemplified from the annals of Boondi.

Jehangir was so pleased with the zeal of the Rahtore prince,—alarmed as he was at the advance of the rebels,—that he not only took him by the hand, but what is most unusual, kissed it. When the assembled princes came in sight of the rebels, near Benares, the emperor gave the *herole*, or vanguard, to the Cuchwaha prince, the Mirza Raja of Amber. Whether this was a point of policy to secure his acting against prince Khoorm, who was born of this race, or merely, as the Marwar annals state, because he brought the greater number into the field, is immaterial; but it was very nearly fatal in its consequences: for the proud Rahtore, indignant at the insult offered to him in thus bestowing the post of honour, which was his right, upon the rival race of Amber, furled his banners, separated from the royal army, and determined to be a quiet spectator of the result. But for the impetuous Bheem of Mewar, the adviser of Khoorm, he might that day have been emperor of India. He sent a taunting message to Raja Guj, either to join their cause or "draw their swords." The Rahtores overlooked the neglect of the king in the sarcasm of one of their own tribe; and Bheem was slain, Govindas avenged, the rebellion quelled, and Khoorm put to flight, chiefly by the Rahtores and Haras.

* This was the founder of Kishengurh; for this iniquitous service he was made an independent Raja in the town which he erected. His descendant is now an ally by treaty with the British Government.

In S. 1694 (A. D. 1638), Raja Guj was slain in an expedition into Guzerat; but whether in the fulfilment of the king's commands, or in the chastisement of freebooters on his own southern frontier, the chronicles do not inform us. He left a distinguished name in the annals of his country, and two valiant sons, Umra and Jeswunt, to maintain it: another son, Achil, died in infancy.

The second son, Jeswunt, succeeded, and furnishes another of many instances in the annals of Rajpootana, of the rights of primogeniture being set aside. This proceeded from a variety of motives, sometimes merely paternal affection, sometimes incapacity in the child 'to herd fifty thousand Rahtores,' and sometimes, as in the present instance, a dangerous turbulence and over-boiling impetuosity in the individual, which despised all restraints. While there was an enemy against whom to exert it, Umra was conspicuous for his gallantry, and in all his father's wars in the south, was ever foremost in the battle. His darin spirit collected around him those of his own race, alike in blood, as connected by blood, whose actions, in periods of peace, were the subjects of eternal complaint to his father, who was ultimately compelled to exclude Umra from his inheritance.

In the month of Bysack, S. 1690 (A. D. 1634), five years before the death of Raja Guj, in a convocation of all the feudality of Maroo, sentence of exclusion from the succession was pronounced upon Umra, accompanied by the solemn and seldom practised rite of *Des-vatoh* or exile. This ceremony, which is marked as a day of mourning in the calendar, was attended with all the circumstances of funeral pomp. As soon as the sentence was pronounced, that his birth-right was forfeited and assigned to his junior brother, and that he ceased to be a subject of Maroo, the *khelat* of banishment was brought forth, existing of sable vestments, in which he was clad; a sable shield was hung upon his back, and a sword of the same hue girded round him; a black horse was then led out, being mounted on which, he was commanded, though not in anger, to depart whither he listed beyond the limits of Maroo.

Umra went not alone; numbers of each clan, who had always regarded him as their future lord, voluntarily partook of his exile. He repaired to the imperial court; and although the emperor approved and sanctioned his banishment, he employed him. His gallantry soon won him the title of Rao and the *munsub* of a leader of three thousand, with the grant of Nagore as an independent domain, to be held directly from the crown. But the same arrogant and uncontrollable spirit which lost him his birth-right, brought his days to a tragical conclu-

sion. He absented himself for a fortnight from court, hunting the boar or the tiger, his only recreation. The emperor (Shah Jehan) reprimanded him for neglecting his duties, and threatened him with a fine. Umra proudly replied, that he had only gone to hunt, and as for a fine, he observed, putting his hand upon his sword, that was his sole wealth.

The little contrition which this reply evinced, determined the king to enforce the fine, and the paymaster-general, Sallabut Khan,* was sent to Umra's quarters to demand its payment. It was refused, and the observations made by the Syud not suiting the temper of Umra, he unceremoniously desired him to depart. The emperor, thus insulted in the person of his officer, issued a mandate for Umra's instant appearance. He obeyed; and having reached the *aum-khas*, or grand divan, beheld the king, "whose eyes were red with anger," with Sallabut in the act of addressing him. Inflamed with passion at the recollection of the injurious language he had just received, perhaps at the king's confirmation of his exclusion from Marwar, he unceremoniously passed the Omrahs of five and seven thousand, as if to address the king; when, with a dagger concealed in his sleeve, he stabbed Sallabut to the heart. Drawing his sword, he made a blow at the king, which descending on the pillar, shivered the weapon in pieces. The king abandoned his throne and fled to the interior apartment. All was uproar and confusion. Umra continued the work of death, indifferent upon whom his blows fell, and five Moghul chiefs of eminence had fallen, when his brother-in-law, Urjoon Gore, under pretence of cajoling him, inflicted a mortal wound, though he continued to ply his dagger until he expired. To avenge his death, his retainers, headed by Bulloo Champawut and Bhao Koompawut, put on their *saffron garments*, and a fresh carnage ensued within the *loll kellah*.† To use the words of their native bard, "The pillars of Agra bear testimony to their deeds, nor shall they ever be obliterated from the records of time; they made their obeisance to Umra in the mansions of the sun." The faithful band was cut to pieces; and his wife, the princess of Boondi, came in person and carried away the dead body of Umra, with which she committed herself to the

* Sallabut Khan Bukshee, he is called. The office of Bukshee is not only one of paymaster (as it implies), but of inspection and audit. We can readily imagine, with such levies as he had to muster and pay, his post was more honourable than secure, especially with such a band as was headed by Umra, ready to take offence if the wind but displaced their moustache. The annals declare that Umra had a feud (*wer*) with Sallabut; doubtless for no better reason than that he fulfilled the trust reposed in him by the emperor.

† The place within the citadel (*kellah*), built of red (*loll*) freestone.

flames. The Bokhara gate by which they gained admission was built up, and henceforward known only as "Umra Sing's gate;" and in proof of the strong impression made by this event,* it remained closed through centuries until opened in 1809 by Capt. Geo. Steell, of the Bengal engineers.†

* It may be useful to record such facts, by the way of contrast with the state policy of the west, and for the sake of observing that which would actuate the present paramount power of India should any of its tributary princes defy them as Umra did that of the universal potentate of that country. Even these despots borrowed a lesson of mercy from the Rajpoot system, which does not deem treason hereditary, nor attains a whole line for the fault of one unworthy link. Shah Jehan, instead of visiting the sins of the father on the son, installed him in his fief of Nagore. This son was Rae Sing; and it devolved to his children and grand-children, (1) until Indur Sing, the fourth in descent, was expelled by the head of the Rahtores, who, in the weakness of the empire, re-annexed Nagore to Jodhpur. But, perhaps, we have not hitherto dared to imitate the examples set us by the Moghul and even by the Mahratta; not having sufficient hold of the affections of the subjected to venture to be merciful; and thence our vengeance, like the bolt of heaven, sears the very heart of our enemies. Witness the many chieftains ejected from their possessions; from the unhallowed league against the Rohillas, to that last act of destruction at Bhurtpoor, where, as arbitrators, we acted the part of the lion in the fable. Our present attitude, however, is so commanding, that we can afford to display the attribute of mercy; and should unfortunately, its action be required in Rajpootana, let it be ample, for there its grateful influence is understood, and it will return, like the dews of heaven, upon ourselves. But if we are only to regulate our political action by the apprehension of danger, it must one day recoil upon us in awful retribution. Our system is filled with evil to the governed, where a fit of bile in ephemeral political agents, may engender a quarrel leading to the overthrow of a dominion of ages.

† Since these remarks were written, Captain Steell related to the author a singular anecdote connected with the above circumstance. While the works of demolition was proceeding, Capt. S. was urgently warned by the native of the danger he incurred in the operation, from a denunciation on the closing of the gate, that it should thenceforward be guarded by a huge serpent—when suddenly, the destruction of the gate being nearly completed, a large Cobra-di-capella rushed between his legs, as if in fulfilment of the anathema. Capt. S. fortunately escaped without injury.

(1) Namely, Hati Sing, his son Anop Sing, his son Indur Sing, his son Mokum Sing. This lineal descendant of Raja Guj, and the rightful heir to the 'cushion of Joda,' has dwindled into one of the petty *thakoors*, or lords of Marwar. The system is one of eternal vicissitudes, amidst which the germ of reproduction never perishes.

CHAPTER VI.

Raja Jeswunt mounts the gadi *of Marwar.—His mother a princess of Mewar.—He is a patron of science.—His first service in Gondwana.—Prince Dara appointed Regent of the empire by his father, Shah Jehan.—Appoints Jeswunt, Viceroy in Malwa.—Rebellion of Arungzebe, who aspires to the Crown.—Jeswunt appointed generalissimo of the army sent to oppose him.—Battle of Futtehabad, a drawn battle.—Jeswunt retreats.—Heroism of Rao Rutna of Rutlam.—Arungzebe proceeds towards Agra.—Battle of Jajow.—Rajpoots over-powered.—Shah Jehan deposed.—Arungzebe, now emperor, pardons Jeswunt, and summons him to the presence.—Commands him to join the army formed against Shuja.—Battle of Cudjwa.—Conduct of Jeswunt.—Betrays Arungzebe and plunders his camp.—Forms a junction with Dara.—This prince's inactivity.—Arungzebe invades Marwar.—Detaches Jeswunt from Dara.—Appointed Viceroy of Guzerat.—Sent to serve in the Dekhan.—Enters into Sevaji's designs.—Plans the death of Shaista Khan, the King's lieutenant.—Obtains his office.—Superseded by the Prince of Amber.—Re-appointed to the army of the Dekhan.—Stimulates Prince Moazzim to rebellion.—Superseded by Delire Khan.—Jeswunt tries to cut him off. Removed from the Dekhan to Guzerat.—Outwitted by the King.—Ordered against the rebellious Afghans of Cabul.—Jeswunt leaves his son, Prithwi Sing, in charge of Jodhpur.—Prithwi Sing commanded to the court by Arungzebe, who gives him a poisoned robe.—His death.—Character.—The tidings reach Jeswunt at Cabul, and cause his death.—Character of Jeswunt.—Ancedotes illustrative of Rahtore character.—Nahur Khan,—His exploits with the tiger, and against Soortan of Sarohi.*

RAJA Jeswunt, who obtained, by the banishment of Umra the 'cushion' of Marwar, was born of a princess of Mewar; and although this circumstance is not reported to have influenced the change of succession, it will be borne in mind that, throughout Rajpootana, its princes regarded a connection with the Rana's family as a primary honour.

"Jeswunt," says the Bardai, "was unequalled amongst the princes of his time. Stupidity and ignorance were banished;

and science flourished where he ruled: *many were the books composed under his auspices.*"

The south continued to be the arena in which the martial Rajpoot sought renown, and the emperor had only rightly to understand his character to turn the national emulation to account. Shah Jehan, in the language of the chronicler, "became a slave to the seraglio," and sent his sons, as viceroys, to govern the grand divisions of the empire. The first service of Jeswunt was in the war of Gondwana, when he led a body composed of "twenty-two different contingents" in the army under Arungzebe. In this and various other services (to enumerate which would be to go over the ground already passed),* the Rahtores were conspicuous. Jeswunt played a comparatively subordinate part, until the illness of the emperor, in A. D. 1658, when his elder son, Dara, was invested with the powers of regent. Prince Dara increased the *munsub* of Jeswunt to a leader of 'five thousand,' and nominated him his viceroy in Malwa.

In the struggle for empire amongst the sons of Shah Jehan, consequent upon this illness, the importance of the Rajpoot princes and the fidelity we have often had occasion to depict, were exhibited in the strongest light. While Raja Jey Sing was commanded to oppose prince Shuja, who advanced from his viceroyalty of Bengal, Jeswunt was entrusted with means to quash the designs of Arungzebe, then commandi[illegible] in the south, who had long cloaked, under the garb of hypocri[illegible] and religion, views upon the empire.

The Rahtore prince was declared generalissimo of the army destined to oppose Arungzebe, and he marched from Agra at the head of the united contingents of Rajpootana, besides the imperial guards, a force which, to use the hyperbole of the bard, "made Shesnag writhe in agony." Jeswunt, marched towards the Nerbudda, and had encamped his army in a position fifteen miles south of Oojein, when tidings reached him of his opponent's approach. In that field on which the emperor erected a town subsequently designated *Futtehabad*, or 'abode of victory,' Jeswunt awaited his foes. The battle which ensued, witnessed and so circumstantially related by Bernier, as has been already noticed in this work,† was lost by the temerity of the Rahtore commander-in-chief, who might have crushed the rebellious hopes of Arungzebe, to whom he purposely gave time to effect a junction with his brother, Morad,

* The new translation of Ferishta's History, by Lieut-Col. Briggs, a work much wanted, may be referred to by those who wish to see the opinion of the Mahomedan princes of their Rajpoot vassalage.

† See Vol. I.

from the vain-glorious desire "to conquer two princes at once." Dearly did he pay for his presumption; for he had given time to the wily prince to sow intrigues in his camp, which were disclosed as soon as the battle joined, when the Moghul horse deserted and left him at the head of his thirty thousand Rajpoots, deemed, however, by their leader and themselves, sufficient against any odds. "Jeswunt, spear in hand, mounted his steed, *Maboob*, and charged the imperial brothers; ten thousand Moslems fell in the onset, which cost seventeen hundred Rahtores besides Gehlots, Haras,* Gores, and some of every clan of Rajwarra. Arung and Morad only escaped because their days were not yet numbered. Maboob and his rider were covered with blood; Jesoh looked like a famished lion, and like one he relinquished his prey." The bard is fully confirmed in his relation of the day, both by the Moghul historian and by Bernier, who says, that notwithstanding the immense superiority of the imperial princes, aided by a numerous artillery served by Frenchmen, night alone put a stop to the contest of science, numbers, and artillery, against Rajpoot courage. Both armies remained on the field of battle, and though we have no notice of the anecdote related by the first translator of Ferishta, who makes Jeswunt "in bravado drive his car round the field," it is certain that Arungzebe was too politic to renew the combat, or molest the retreat which took place next day towards his native dominions. Although, for the sake of alliteration, the bard especially singles out the *Gehlote* and *Gores*, the tribes of Mewar and Seopur, all and every tribe was engaged; and if the Rajpoot ever dared to mourn the fall of kindred in battle, this day should have covered every house with the emblems of grief; for it is stated by the Moghul historian that fifteen thousand fell, chiefly Rajpoots. This was one of the events glorious to the Rajpoot, shewing his devotion to whom fidelity (*swamdherma*) had been pledged,—the aged and enfeebled emperor Shah Jehan, whose "salt they ate,"—against all the temptations offered by youthful ambition. It is forcibly contrasted with the conduct of the immediate household troops of the emperor, who, even in the moment of battle, worshipped the rising sun, whilst the Rajpoot sealed his faith in his blood; and none more liberally than the brave Haras of Kotah and Boondi. The annals of no nation on earth can furnish such an example, as an entire family, six royal brothers, stretched on the field, and all but one in death.*

Of all the deeds of heroism performed on this day, those

* See Kotah Annals, which state that, that prince and five brothers all fell in this field of carnage.

of Rutna of Rutlam, by universal consent, are pre-eminent, and "are wreathed into immortal rhyme by the bard" in the *Rasa Rao Rutna.** He also was a Rahtore, the great-grandson of Oodi Sing, the first Raja of Maroo; and nobly did he shew that the Rahtore blood had not degenerated on the fertile plans of Malwa. If aught were wanting to complete the fame of this memorable day, which gave empire to the scourge of Rajpootana, it is found in the conduct of Jeswunt's queen, who, as related,† shut the gates of his capital on her fugitive lord, though he "brought back his shield" and his honour.

Arungzebe, on Jeswunt's retreat, entered the capital of Malwa in triumph, whence, with all the celerity requisite to success, he pursued his march on the capital. At the village of Jajow, thirty miles south of Agra, the fidelity of the Rajpoots again formed a barrier between the aged king and the treason of his son; but it served no other purpose than to illustrate this fidelity. The Rajpoots were overpowered, Dara was driven from the regency, and the aged emperor deposed.

Arungzebe, soon after usurping the throne, sent, through the prince of Amber, his assurances of pardon to Jeswunt, and a summons to the presence, preparatory to joining the army forming against his brother, Shuja, advancing to vindicate his claims to empire. The Rahtore, deeming it a glorious occasion for revenge, obeyed, and communicated to Shuja his intentions. The hostile armies met at Kujwa, thirty miles north of Allahabad. On the first onset, Jeswunt, wheeling about with his Rahtore cavaliers, attacked the rear-ward of the army under prince Mohammed, which he cut to pieces, and plundering the imperial camp (left unprotected), he deliberately loaded his camels with the most valuable effects, which he despatched under part of the force, and leaving the brother to a contest, which he heartily wished might involve the destruction of both, he followed the *cortege* to Agra. Such was the panic on his appearance at that capital, joined to the rumours of Arungzebe's defeat, which had nearly happened, that the wavering garrison required only a summons to have surrendered, when he might have released Shah Jehah from confinement, and with this "tower of strength" have rallied an opposition fatal to the prince.

That this plan suggested itself to Jeswunt's sagacity we cannot doubt; but besides the manifest danger of locking of his army within the precincts of a capital, if victory was given to Arungzebe, he had other reasons for not halting at Agra.

* Amongst the MSS. presented by the Author to the Royal Asiatic Society, is this work, the *Rasa Rao Rutna.*

† See Vol. I.

All his designs were in concert with prince Dara, the rightful heir to the throne, whom he had instructed to hasten to the scene of action; but while Jeswunt remained hovering in the rear of Arungzebe, momentarily expecting the junction of the prince, the latter loitered on the southern frontier of Marwar, and thus lost, for ever, the crown within his grasp. Jeswunt continued his route to his native dominions, and had at least the gratification of housing the spoils, even to the regal tents, in the castle of Joda. Dara tardily formed a junction at Mairta: but the critical moment was lost, and Arungzebe, who had crushed Shuja's force, rapidly advanced, now joined by many of the Rajpoot princes, to overwhelm this last remnant of opposition. The crafty Arungzebe, however, who always preferred stratagem to the precarious issue of arms, addressed a letter to Jeswunt, not only assuring him of his entire forgiveness, but offering the viceroyalty of Guzerat, if he would withdraw his support from Dara and remain neuter in the contest. Jeswunt accepted the condition, and agreed to lead the Rajpoot contingents, under prince Moazzim in the war against Sevaji, bent on reviving the independence of Mahrashtra. From the conduct again pursued by the Rahtore, we have a right to infer that he only abandoned Dara because, though possessed of many qualities which endeared him to the Rajpoot, besides his title to the throne, he wanted these virtues necessary to ensure success against his energetic brother. Scarcely had Jeswunt reached the Dekhan when he opened a communication with Sevaji, planned the death of the king's lieutenant, Shaista Khan, on which he hoped to have the guidance of the army and the young viceroy. Arungzebe received authentic intelligence of this plot, and the share Jeswunt had in it; but he temporized, and even sent letters of congratulation on his succeeding to the command-in-chief. But he soon superseded him by Raja Jey Sing of Amber, who brought the war to a conclusion by the capture of Sevaji. The honour attending this exploit was, however, soon exchanged for disgrace; for when the Amber prince found that the tyrant had designs upon the life of his prisoner, for whose safety he had pledged himself, he connived at his escape. Upon this, Jeswunt was once more declared the emperor's lieutenant, and soon inspired prince Moazzim with designs, which again compelled the king to supersede him, and Delire Khan was declared general-in-chief. He reached Arungabad, and the night of his arrival would have been his last, but he received intimation and rapidly retreated, pursued by the prince and Jeswunt to the Nerbudda. The emperor saw the necessity of removing Jeswunt from this dangerous post, and he sent him the *firman* as viceroy

of Guzerat, to which he commanded him to repair without delay. He obeyed, reached Ahmedabad, and found the king had outwitted him and his successor in command; he, therefore, continued his course to his native dominions, where he arrived in S. 1726 (A. D. 1670.)

The wily tyrant had, in all these changes, used every endeavour to circumvent Jeswunt, and, if the annals are correct, was little scrupulous as to the means. But the Raja was protected by the fidelity of his kindred vassalage. In the words of the bardic chronicler, "The *Aswapati*,* Arung, finding treachery in vain, put the collar of simulated friendship round his neck, and sent him beyond the Attok to die."

The emperor saw that the only chance of counteracting Jeswunt's inveterate hostility was to employ him where he would be least dangerous. He gladly availed himself of a rebellion amongst the Afghans of Cabul; and with many promises of favour to himself and his family, appointed him to the chief command, to lead his turbulent Rajpoots against the equally turbulent and almost savage Afghans. Leaving his elder son, Pirthwi Sing, in charge of his ancestral domains, with his wives, family, and the chosen bands of Maroo, Jeswunt departed for the land of the 'barbarian,' from which he was destined never to return.

It is related, in the chronicles of Maroo, that Arungzebe having commanded the attendance at court of Jeswunt's heir, he obeyed, and was received not only with the distinctions which were his due, but with the most specious courtesy: that one day, with unusual familiarity, the king desired him to advance, and grasping firmly his folded hands (the usual attitude of deference) in one of his own, said, "Well, Rahtore, it is told me you possess as nervous an arm as your father; what can you do now?" "God preserve your majesty," replied the Rajpoot prince, "when the sovereign of mankind lays the hand of protection on the meanest of his subjects, all his hopes are realized; but when he condescends to take both of mine, I feel as if I could conquer the world." His vehement and animated gesture gave full force to his words, and Arungzebe quickly exclaimed, "Ah! here is another Khootun," (the term he always applied to Jeswunt;) yet, affecting to be pleased with the frank boldness of his speech, he ordered him a splendid dress, which, as customary, he put on, and, having made his obeisance, left the presence in the certain assurance of exaltation.

* The common epithet of the Islamite emperors, in the dialect of the bard, is *Asput*, classically *Aswapati*, 'lord of horses.'

That day was his last!—he was taken ill soon after reaching his quarters, and expired in great torture, and to this hour his death is attributed to the poisoned robe of honour presented by the king.*

Pirthwi Sing was the staff of his father's age, and endowed with all the qualities required to lead the swords of Maroo. His death, thus reported, cast a blight on the remaining days of Jeswunt, who, in this cruel stroke, saw that his mortal foe had gone beyond him in revenge. The sacrifice of Pirthwi Sing was followed by the death of his only remaining sons, Juggut Sing and Dulthumun, from the ungenial climate of Cabul, and grief soon closed the existence of the veteran Rahtore. He expired amidst the mountain of the north, without an heir to his revenge, in S. 1737 (A. D. 1681), having ruled the tribes of Maroo for two and forty years. In this year, death released Arungzebe from the greatest terrors of his life; for the illustrious Sevaji and Jeswunt paid the debt to nature within a few months of each other. Of the Rahtore, we may use the words of the biographer of his contemporary, Rana Raj Sing of Mewar: "Sighs never ceased flowing from Arung's heart while Jeswunt lived."

The life of Jeswunt Sing is one of the most extraordinary in the annals of Rajpootana, and a full narrative of it would afford a perfect and deeply interesting picture of the history and manners of the period. Had his abilities, which were far above mediocrity, been commensurate with his power, credit, and courage, he might, with the concurrent aid of the many powerful enemies of Arungzebe, have overturned the Moghul throne. Throughout the long period of two and forty years, events of magnitude crowded upon each other, from the period of his first contest with Arungzebe, in the battle of the Nerbudda, to his conflicts with the Afghans amidst the snows of Caucasus. Although the Rahtore had a preference amongst the sons of Shah Jehan, esteeming the frank Dara above the crafty Arungzebe, yet he detested the whole race as inimical to the religion and the independence of his own; and he only fed

* This mode of being rid of enemies is firmly believed by the Rajpoots, and several other instances of it are recorded in this work. Of course, it must be by porous absorption; and in a hot climate, where only a thin tunic is worn next the skin, much mischief might be done, though it is difficult to understand how death could be accomplished. That the belief is of ancient date, we have only to recall the story of Hercules put into doggerel by Pope:

> ——— "He whom Dejanira
> Wrapp'd in the envenomed shirt, and set on fire."

the hopes of any of the brothers, in their struggles for empire, expecting that they would end in the ruin of all. His blind arrogance lost him the battle of the Nerbudda, and the supineness of Dara prevented his reaping the fruit of his treachery at Kujwa. The former event, as it reduced the means and lesssened the fame of Jeswunt, redoubled his hatred to the conqueror. Jeswunt neglected no opportunity which gave a chance of revenge. Impelled by this motive, more than by ambition, he never declined situations of trust, and in each he disclosed the ruling passion of his mind. His overture to Sevaji (like himself the implacable foe of the Moghul), against whom he was sent to act; his daring attempt to remove the imperial lieutenants, one by assassination, the other by open force; his inciting Moazzim, whose inexperience he was sent to guide, to revolt against his father, are some among the many signal instances of Jeswunt's thirst for vengeance. The emperor, fully aware of this hatred, yet compelled from the force of circumstances to dissemble, was always on the watch to counteract it, and the artifices this mighty king had recourse to in order to conciliate Jeswunt, perhaps to throw him off his guard, best attest the dread in which he held him. Alternately he held the viceroyalty of Guzerat, of the Dekhan, of Malwa, Ajmeer, and Cabul (where he died), either directly of the king, or as the king's lieutenant, and second in command under one of the princes. But he used all these favours merely as stepping-stones to the sole object of his life. Accordingly, if Jeswunt's character had been drawn by a biographer of the court, viewed merely in the light of a great vassal of the empire, it would have reached us marked with the stigma of treachery in every trust reposed in him; but, on the other hand, when we reflect on the character of the king, the avowed enemy of the Hindu faith, we only see in Jeswunt a prince putting all to hazard in its support. He had to deal with one who placed him in these offices, not from personal regard, but because he deemed a hollow submission better than avowed hostility, and the Raja, therefore, only opposed fraud to hypocrisy, and treachery to superior strength. Doubtless the Rahtore was sometimes dazzled by the baits which the politic king administered to his vanity; and when all his brother princes eagerly contended for royal favour, it was something to be singled out as the first amongst his peer in Rajpootana. By such conflicting impulses were both parties actuated in their mutual conduct throughout a period in duration nearly equal to the life of a man; and it is no slight testimony to Arungzebe's skill in managing such a subject, that he was able to neutralize the hatred and the power of Jeswunt throughout this lengthened period. But it was this vanity, and

the immense power wielded by the kings who could reward service by the addition of vice-royalty to their hereditary domains, that made the Rajpoot princes slaves; for, had all the princely contemporaries of Jeswunt,—Jey Sing of Amber, the Rana Raj of Marwar, and Sevaji,—coalesced against their national foe, the Moghul power must have been extinct. Could Jeswunt, however, have been satisfied with the mental wounds he inflicted upon the tyrant, he would have had ample revenge; for the image of the Rahtore crossed all his visions of aggrandizement. The cruel sacrifice of his heir, and the still more barbarous and unrelenting ferocity with which he pursued Jeswunt's innocent family are the surest proofs of the dread which the Rahtore prince inspired while alive.

Previous, however, to entering on this and the eventful period which followed Jeswunt's death, we may record a few anecdotes illustrative of the character and manner of the vassal chieftains, by whose aid he was thus enabled to brave Arungzebe. Nor can we do better than allow Nahur Khan, chief of the Koompawuts and premier noble, to be the representative portrait of the clans of Maroo. It was by the vigilance of this chief, and his daring intrepidity, that the many plots laid for Jeswunt's life were defeated; and in the anecdote already given, when in order to restore his prince from a fit of mental delusion, he braved the superstitions of his race, his devotion was put to a severer test than any which could result from personal peril. The anecdote connected with his *nom de guerre* of Nahur *(tiger)* Khan, exemplifies his personal, as the other does his mental intrepidity. The real name of this individual, the head of the Koompawut clan, was Mokundas. He had personally incurred the displeasure of the emperor, by a reply which was deemed disrespectful to a message sent by royal *ahdy*, for which the tyrant condemned him to enter a tiger's den, and contend for his life unarmed. Without a sign of fear, he entered the arena, where the savage beast was pacing, and thus contemptuously accosted him: "Oh tiger of the *meah*, * face the tiger of Jeswunt;" exhibiting to the king of forest a pair of eyes, which anger and opium had rendered little less inflamed than his own. The animal, startled by so unaccustomed a salutation, for a moment looked at his visitor, put down his head, turned round and stalked from him. "You see," exclaimed the Rahtore, "that he dare not face me, and it is contrary to the creed of a true Rajpoot to attack an enemy who dare not confront him." Even the tyrant, who

* *Meah* is a term used by the Hindu to a Mooslim, who himself generally applies it to a pedagogue: the village-schoolmaster has always the honourable epithet of *Meah-ji!*

beheld the scene, was surprised into admiration, presented him with gifts, and asked if he had any children to inherit his prowess. His reply, " how can we get children, when you keep us from our wives beyond the Attok ?" fully shews that the Rahtore and fear were strangers to each other. From this singular encounter, he bore the name of Nahur Khan, 'the tiger lord.'

On another occasion, from the same freedom of speech, he incurred the displeasure of the Shahzada, or prince-royal who, with youthful levity, commanded the 'tiger lord' to attempt a feat which he deemed inconsistent with his dignity, namely, gallop at speed under a horizontal branch of a tree and cling to it while the steed passed on. This feat, requiring both agility and strength, appears to have been a common amusement, and it is related, in the annals of Mewar, that the chief of Bunera broke his spine in the attempt ; and there were few who did not come off with bruises and falls, in which consisted the sport. When Nahur heard the command, he indignantly replied, he " was not a monkey ; " that " if the prince wished to see his feats, it must be where his sword had play ;" on which he was ordered against Soortan, the Deorah prince of Sirohi, for which service he had the whole Rahtore contingent at his disposal. The Deorah prince, who could not attempt to cope against it in the field, took to his native hills ; but while he deemed himself secure, Mokund, with a chosen band, in the dead of night, entered the glen where the Sirohi prince reposed, stabbed the solitary sentinel, bound the prince with his own turban to his pallet, while, environing him with his clansmen, he gave the alarm. The Deorahs starting from their rocky beds, collected round their prince, and were preparing for the rescue, when Nahur called aloud, " You see his life is in my hands ; be assured it is safe if you are wise ; but he dies on the least opposition to my determination to convey him to my prince. My sole object in giving the alarm, was that you might behold me carry off my prize." He conveyed Soortan to Jeswunt, who said he must introduce him to the king. The Deorah prince was carried to court, and being led between the proper officers to the palace, he was instructed to perform that profound obeisance, from which none were exempted. But the haughty Deorah replied, " His life was in the king's hands, his honour in his own ; he had never bowed the head to mortal man, and never would." As Jeswunt had pledged himself for his honourable treatment, the officers of the ceremonies endeavoured by stratagem to obtain a constrained obeisance, and instead of introducing him as usual, they shewed him a wicket, knee high, and very low overhead, by which to enter, but putting his feet

foremost, his head was the last part to appear. This stubborn ingenuity, his noble bearing, and his long-protracted resistance, added to Jeswunt's pledge, won the king's favour ; and he not only proffered him pardon, but whatever lands he might desire. Though the king did not name the return, Soortan was well aware of the terms, but he boldly and quickly replied, " What can your Majesty bestow equal to Achilgurh ? Let me return to it is all I ask." The king had the magnanimity to comply with his request ; Soortan was allowed to retire to the castle of Aboo,* nor did he or any of the Deorahs ever rank themselves amongst the vassals of the empire ; but they have continued to the present hour a life of almost savage independence.

From such anecdotes we learn the character of the tiger lord of Asope, and his brother Rahtores of Marwar; men reckless of life when put in competition with distinction and fidelity to their prince, as will be abundantly illustrated in the reign we are about to describe.

* *Achilgurh*, or 'the immovable castle,' is the name of the fortress of the Deorah princes of Aboo and Sirohi, of which wonderful spot I purpose in another work to give a detailed account.

CHAPTER VII.

The pregnant queen of Jeswunt prevented from becoming Sati.—Seven concubines and one Rani burn with him.—The Chundravati Rani mounts the pyre at Mundore.—General grief for the loss of Jeswunt.—Posthumous birth of Ajit.—Jeswunt's family and contingent return from Cabul to Marwar.—Intercepted by Arungzebe, who demands the surrender of the infant Ajit.—The chiefs destroy the females and defend themselves.—Preservation of the infant prince.—The Eendos take Mundore—Expelled—Arungzebe invades Marwar, takes and plunders Jodhpur, and sacks all the large towns.—Destroys the Hindu temples, and commands the conversion of the Rahtore race.—Impolicy of the measure.—Establishes the Jezeya, or tax on infidels.—The Rahtores and Seesodias unite against the king.—Events of the war from the Chronicle.—The Mairtea clan oppose the entire royal army, but are cut to pieces.—The combined Rajpoots fight the imperialists at Nadole.—Bheem, the son of the Rana, slain.—Prince Akber disapproves the war against the Rajpoots.—Makes overtures.—Coalition.—The Rajpoots declare Akber emperor.—Treachery and death of Tyber Khan.—Akber escapes, and claims protection from the Rajpoots.—Doorga conducts Prince Akber to the Dekhan.—Soning, brother of Doorga, leads the Rahtores.—Conflict at Jodhpur.—Affair at Sojut.—The cholera morbus appears.—Arungzebe offers peace.—The conditions accepted by Soning.—Soning's death.—Arungzebe annuls the treaty.—Prince Azim left to carry on the war.—Mooslem garrisons throughout Marwar.—The Rahtores take post in the Aravali hills.—Numerous encounters.—Affairs of Sojut.—Cheraie.—Jytarun.—Rainpur.—Palli.—Immense sacrifice of lives.—The Bhatties join the Rahtores.—The Mairtea chief assassinated during a truce.—Further encounters.—Sewanoh assaulted.—The Mooslem garrison put to the sword.—Noor Alli abducts the Assani damsels.—Is pursued and killed.—Mooslem garrison of Sambhur destroyed.—Jhalore capitulates to the Rajpoots.

"WHEN Jeswunt died beyond the Attok, his wife, the mother of Ajit, determined to burn with her lord, but (future) m seventh month of her pregnancy, she was forcibly being in the Ooda Koompawut. His other queen and seven prevented by

patras (concubines) mounted the pyre; and as soon as the tidings reached Jodhpur, the Chundravati queen, taking a turban of her late lord, ascended the pile at Mundore. The Hindu race was in despair at the loss of the support of their faith. The bells of the temple were mute; the sacred shell no longer sounded at sun-rise; the Brahmins vitiated their doctrines and learned the Mooslem creed."

The queen was delivered of a boy, who received the name of Ajit. As soon as she was able to travel, the Rahtore contingent, with their infant prince, his mother, the daughters, and establishment of their late sovereign, prepared to return to their native land. But the unrelenting tyrant, carrying his vengeance towards Jeswunt even beyond the grave, as soon they reached Delhi, commanded that the infant should be surrendered to his custody. "Arung offered to divide Maroo amongst them if they would surrender their prince; but they replied, 'Our country is with our sinews, and these can defend both it and our lord.' With eyes red with rage, they left the *Aum-khas*. Their abode was surrounded by the host of the Shah. In a basket of sweetmeats they sent away the young prince, and prepared to defend their honour, they made oblations to gods, took a double portion of opium, and mounted their steeds. Then spoke Rinchor, and Govind, the son of Joda, and Chundurbhan the Darawut, and the son of Raghoo, on whose shoulder the sword had been married at Oojein, with the fearless Bharmul the Oodawut, and the Soojawut, Raghoonath. 'Let us swim,' they exclaimed, 'in the ocean of fight. Let us root up these Asuras, and be carried by the Apsaras to the mansions of the sun.' As thus each spoke, Soojah, the bard, took the word: 'for a day like this,' said he, 'you enjoy your fiefs (*puttas*), to give in your lord's cause your bodies to the sword, and in one mass to gain *swarga* (heaven). As for me, who enjoyed his friendship and his gifts, this day will I make his salt resplendent. My father's fame will I uphold, and lead the death in this day's fight, that future bards may hymn my praise.' Then spake Doorga, son of Assoh: 'the teeth of the Yavans are whetted, but by the lightning emitted from our swords, Delhi shall witness our deeds; and the flame of our anger shall consume the troops of the Shah.' As thus the chiefs communed and the troops of the king approached, the *Raj-loca** of their late lord was sent to inhabit *swarga*. Lance in hand, with faces resembling Yama,† the Rahtores rushed upon the foe. Then

* A delicate mode of naming the female part of Jeswunt's family; the '*royal abode*' included his young daughters, sent to inhabit heaven (*swarga*).

† Pluto.

the music of swords and shields commenced. Wave followed wave in the field of blood. Sankara * completed his chaplet in the battle fought by the children of Doohur in the streets of Delhi. Rutna contended with nine thousand of the foe; but his sword failed, and as he fell, Rembha† carried him away. Dilloh the Darawut made a gift of his life;‡ the salt of his lord he mixed with the water of the field.§ Chundurbhan was conveyed by the Apsaras to Chandrapur.‖ The Bhatti was cut piece-meal and lay on the field beside the son of Soortan. The faithful Oodawut appeared like the crimson lotos; he journeyed to Swarga to visit Jeswunt. Sandoh the bard, with a sword in either hand, was in the front of the battle, and gained the mansion of the moon.¶ Every tribe and every clan performed its duty in this day's pilgrimage to the stream of the sword, in which Doorgadas ground the foe and saved his honour.**

When these brave men saw that nothing short of the surrender of all that was dear to a Rajpoot was intended by the fiend-like spirit of the king, their first thought was the preservation of their prince; the next to secure their own honour and that of their late master. The means by which they accomplished this were terrific. The females of the deceased together with their own wives and daughters, were placed in an apartment filled with gunpowder, and the torch applied—all was soon over! This sacrifice accomplished, their sole thought was to secure a niche in that immortal temple, which the Rajpoot bard, as well as the great minstrel of the west, peoples with "youths who died, to be by poets sung." For this, the Rajpoot's anxiety has in all ages been so great, as often to defeat even the purpose of revenge, his object being to die gloriously rather than to inflict death; assured that his name would never perish, but, preserved in "immortal rhyme" by the bard, would serve as the incentive to similar

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* 'The lord of the shell,' an epithet of Siva, as the god of war; his war-trump being *a shell (sankh)*; his chaplet *(mala)*, which the Rahtore bard says was incomplete until this fight, being of human sculls.

† Queen of the Apsaras, or celestial nymphs.

‡ Pope makes Sarpedon say:

> The life that others pay, let us bestow,
> And give to fame what we to nature owe.

§ i. e., *blood*.

‖ 'The city of the moon.'

¶ The *lunar abode* seems that allotted for all bards who never mention *Bhanuloca*, or the 'mansion of the sun,' as a place of reward for them. Doubtless they could assign a reason for such a distinction.

** This is but a short transcript of the poetic account of this battle in which the deeds, name, and tribe of every warrior who fell, are related. The heroes of Thermopylæ had not a more brilliant theme for the bard.

deeds. Accordingly, "the battle fought by the sons of Dooloorea* in the streets of Delhi," is one of the many themes of everlasting eulogy to the Rahtores: and the seventh of Sravan, S. 1736 (the second month of the Monsoon of A. D. 1680), is a sacred day in the calendar of Maroo.

In the midst of this furious contest, the infant prince was saved. To avoid suspicion the heir of Maroo, concealed in a basket of sweetmeats, was entrusted to a Mooslem, who religiously executed his trust and conveyed him to the appointed spot, where he was joined by the gallant Doorgadas with the survivors who had cut their way through all opposition, and who were doomed often to bleed for the prince thus miraculously preserved. It is pleasing to find that, if to "the leader of the faithful," the bigoted Arungzebe, they owed so much misery, to one (and he of humble life), of the same faith, they owed the preservation of their line. The preserver of Ajit lived to witness his manhood and the redemption of his birth-right, and to find that princes are not always ungrateful; for he was distinguished at court, was never addressed but as *Kaka*, or uncle, by the prince; and to the honour of his successors be it told, the lands then settled upon him are still enjoyed by his descendants.

With the sole surviving scion of Jeswunt, the faithful Doorga and a few chosen friends repaired to the isolated rock of Aboo, and placed him in a monastery of recluses. There the heir of Maroo was reared in entire ignorance of his birth. Still rumours prevailed, that a son of Jeswunt lived; that Doorga and a few associates were his guardians; and this was enough for the loyal Rajpoot, who, confiding in the chieftain of Droonara, allowed the mere name of '*Dhuṇi*' (lord) to be his rallying word in the defence of his rights. These were soon threatened by a host of enemies, amongst whom were the Eendos, the ancient sovereigns of Maroo, who saw an opening for the redemption of their birth-right, and for a short time displayed the flag of the Purihars on the walls of Mundore. While the Eendos were rejoicing at the recovery of their ancient capital, endeared to them by tradition, an attempt was made by Rutna, the son of Umra Sing (whose tragical death has been related), to obtain the seat of power, Jodhpur. This attempt, instigated by the king, proved futile; and the clans, faithful to the memory of Jeswunt and the name of Ajit, soon expelled the Eendos from Mundore, and drove

* Here is another instance of the ancient patronymic being brought in by the bards, and it is thus they preserve the names and deeds of the worthies of past days. Rao Doohur was one of the earliest Rahtore kings of Marwar.

the son of Umra to his castle of Nagore. It was then that Arungzebe, in person, led his army into Maroo; the capital was invested; it fell and was pillaged, and all the great towns in the plains of Mairtea, Deedwana, and Rohit, shared a similar fate. The emblems of religion were trampled under foot, the temples thrown down, mosques were erected on their site, and nothing short of the compulsory conversion to the tenets of Islam of every Rajpoot in Marwar, would satisfy his revenge. The consequences of this fanatical and impolitic conduct recoiled not only upon the emperor, but his whole race, for it roused an opposition to this iron yoke, which ultimately broke it in pieces. The emperor promulgated that famous edict, the 'Jezeya,' against the whole Hindu race, which cemented into one compact union all who cherished either patriotism or religion. It was at this period of time, when the Rahtores and Seesodias united against the tyrant, that Rana Raj Sing indited that celebrated epistle, which is given in a preceding part of this work.*

"Seventy thousand men," says the bard,† "under Tyber Khan, were commanded to destroy the Rajpoot, and Arung

* Vol. I.

† It may be well to exhibit the manner in which the poetic annalist of Rajpootana narrates such events, and to give them in his own language rather than in an epitome, by which not only the pith of the original would be lost, but the events themselves deprived of half their interest. The character of historic fidelity will thus be preserved from suspicion, which could scarcely be withheld if the narrative were exhibited in any but its native garb. This will also serve to sustain the Annals of Marwar, formed from a combination of such materials, and dispose the reader to acknowledge the impossibility of reducing such animated chronicles to the severe style of history. But more than all, it is with the design to prove what in the preface of this work, the reader was compelled to take on credit; that the Rajpoot kingdoms were in no ages without such chronicles; and if we may not compare them with Froissart, or with Monstrelet, they may be allowed to compete with the Anglo-Saxon chronicles, and they certainly surpass those of Ulster. But we have stronger motives than even legitimate curiosity in allowing the bard to tell his own tale of the thirty years' war of Rajpootna; the desire which has animated this task from its commencement, to give a correct idea of the importance of these events, and to hold them up as a beacon to the present governors of these brave men. How well that elegant historian, Orme, appreciates their importance, as bearing on our own conduct in power, the reader will perceive by reference to his Fragments where he says, "there are no states or powers on the continent of India, with whom our nation has either connetion or concern, which do not owe the origin of their present condition to the reign of Arungzebe, or its influence on the reigns of his successors." It behoves us, therefore, to make ourselves acquainted with the causes, as well as the characters of those who occasioned the downfall of our predecessors in the sovereignty of India. With this object in view, the bard shall tell his own tale from the birth of Ajit, in S. 1737 to 1767, when he had vanquished all opposition to Arungzebe, and regained the throne of Maroo.

followed in person to Ajmeer. The Mairtea clan assembled, and advanced to Pooshkur to oppose him. The battle was in front of the temple of Varaha, where the swords of the Mairteas, always first in the fight, played the game of destruction on the heads of the Asuras. Here the Mairteas were all slain on the 11th Bhadoon, S. 1736.

"Tyber continued to advance. The inhabitants of Moordhur fled to the mountains. At Goorah the brothers Roopa and Koombo took post with their clan to oppose him; but they fell with twenty-five of their brethren. As the cloud pours water upon the earth, so did Arung pour his barbarians over the land. He remained but five days at Ajidoorg (Ajmeer), and marched against Cheetore. It fell! it appeared as if the heavens had fallen. Ajit was protected by the Rana, and the Rahtores led the van in the host of the Seesodias. Seeing the strength of the Yavans, they shut up the young prince, like a flame confined in a vessel. Delhi-pat (the king of Delhi) came to Debarri,* at whose pass he was opposed by Koombo, Oogursen, and Oodoh, all Rahtores. While Arungzebe attacked Oodipur, Azim was left at Cheetore. Then the king learned that Dhorgadas had invaded Jhalore; he abandoned his conquest, and returned to Ajmeer, sending Mokurra Khan to aid Beharri at Jhalore; but Doorga had raised contributions (*dind*), and passed to Jodhpur, alike forced to contribute; for the son of Indur Sing, on the part of the king, now commanded in Tricuta (*triple-peaked mount*). Arung Shah measured the heavens; he determined to have but one faith in the land. Prince Akber was sent to join Tyber Khan. Rapine and conflagration spread over the land. The country became a waste; fear stalked triumphant. Providence had willed this affliction. The Eendos were put in possession of Jodhpur; but were encountered at Kaitapur and put to the sword by the Champawuts. Once more they lost the title of Raos of Moordurdes, and thus the king's intentions of bestowing sovereignty on the Purihars were frustrated on the 13th day of Jeit, S. 1736.

"The Aravali gave shelter to the Rahtores. From its fastnesses they issued, and mowed down entire harvests of the Mooslem, piling them in *kullas*.† Arung had no repose. Jhalore was invaded by one body, Sewanoh by another of the faithful chiefs of Ajit, whose *an*‡ daily increased, while Arung's

* The Cenotaph of these warriors still marks the spot where they fell, on the right on entering the portals.

† The heaps of grain thrashed in the open field, preparatory to being divided and housed are termed *kullas*.

‡ Oath of allegiance.

was seldom invoked. The king gave up the war against the Rana to send all his troops into Maroo; but the Rana, who provoked the rage of Arung from granting refuge to Ajit, sent his troops under his own son, Bheem, who joined the Rahtores, led by Indurbhan and Doorgadas in Godwar. Prince Akber and Tyber Khan advanced upon them, and a battle took place at Nadole. The Seesodias had the right. The combat was long and bloody. Prince Bheem fell at the head of Mewarees; he was a noble bulwark to the Rahtores.* Indurbhan was slain, with Jait the Oodawut, performing noble deeds; and Soning Doorga did wonders on that day, the 14th Asoj, S. 1737" (the winter of A. D. 1681.)

The gallant bearing of the Rajpoots in this unequal combat, their desperate devotion to their country and prince, touched the soul of prince Akber, who had the magnanimity to commiserate the sufferings he was compelled to inflict, and to question the policy of his father towards these gallant vassals. Ambition came to the aid of compassion for the suffering of the Rahtores, and the persecution of the minor son of Jeswunt. He opened his mind to Tyber Khan, and exposed the disgrace of bearing arms in so unholy a warfare, and in severing from the crown such devoted and brave vassals as the Rahtores. Tyber was gained over, and an embassy sent to Doorgadas offering peace, and expressing a wish for a conference. Doorga convened the chiefs, and disclosed the overture; but some suspected treachery in the prince, others, selfish views on the part of Doorga. To prevent the injurious operation of such suspicions, Doorga observed, that if assent were not given to the meeting, it would be attributed to the base motive of fear. "Let us proceed in a body," said he, "to this conference; who ever heard of a cloud being caught?" They met; mutual views were developed; a treaty was concluded, and the meeting ended by Akber waving the umbrella of regality over his head. He coined in his own name; he established his own weights and measures. The poisoned intelligence was poured into Arung's ear at Ajmeer; his soul was troubled; he had no rest; he plucked his beard in grief when he heard that Doorga and Akber had united. Every Rahtore in the land flocked to Akber's standard. The house of Delhi was divided, and Govind† again supported the Hindu faith.

* The Mewar chronicle claims a victory for the combined Rajpoot army, and relates a singular stratagem by which they gained it; but either I have overlooked it, or the *Raj Vilas* does not specify that Prince Bheem, son of the heroic Rana Raj, fell on this day, so glorious in the annals of both states.—See Vol. I.

† Crishna.

The dethronement of the tyrant appeared inevitable. The scourge of Rajpoots was in their power, for he was almost alone and without the hope of succour. But his energies never forsook him; he knew the character of his foes, and that on an emergency his grand auxiliary stratagem was equal to an army. As there is some variation both in the Moghul historian's account of his momentous transaction, and in the annals of Mewar and Marwar, we present the latter *verbatim* from the chronicle.

"Akber, with multitudes of Rajpoots, advanced upon Ajmeer. But while Arung prepared for the storm, the prince gave himself up to the women and the song, placing everything in hands of Tyber Khan. We are the slaves of fate; puppets that dance as it pulls the strings. Tyber allowed himself to dream of treason; it was whispered in his ear that if he could deliver Akber to his father, high rewards would follow. At night he went privily to Arungzebe, and thence wrote to the Rahtores: 'I was the bond of union betwixt you and Akber, but the dam which separated the waters has broken down. Father and son again are one. Consider the pledges, given and received, as restored, and depart for your own lands.' Having sealed this with his signet, and despatched a messenger to the Rahtores, he appeared before Arungzebe to receive the fruit of his service. But his treason met its reward, and before he could say, the imperial orders were obeyed, *a blow of the mace from the hand of the monarch sent his soul to hell.* At midnight the Derveish messenger reached the Rahtore camp; he put the letter into their hand, which stated father and son were united; and added from himself that Tyber Khan was slain. All was confusion; the Rahtores saddled and mounted, and moved a coss from Akber's camp. The panic spread to his troops, who fled like the dried leaves of the sugar-cane when carried up in a whirlwind, while the prince was attending to the song and the wiles of the wanton."

This narrative exemplifies most strongly the hasty unreflecting character of the Rajpoot, who always acts from the impulse of the moment. They did not even send to Akber's camp, although close to their own, to inquire the truth or falsehood of the report, but saddled and did not halt until they were twenty miles asunder. It is true, that in these times of peril, they did not know in whom to confide; and being headed by one of their own body, they could not tell how far he might be implicated in the treachery.

The next day they were undeceived by the junction of the prince, who, when made acquainted with the departure of his allies, and the treason and death of Tyber Khan, could scarcely collect a thousand men to abide by his fortunes. With

these he followed his panic-struck allies, and threw himself and his family upon their hospitality and protection:—an appeal never be made in vain to the Rajpoot. The poetic account, by the bard Kurnidhan, of the reception of the prince by the chivalry of Maroo, is remarkably minute and spirited:—the warriors and senators enter into a solemn debate as to the conduct to be pursued to the prince now claiming *sirna* (sanctuary), when the bard takes occasion to relate the pedigree and renown of the chiefs of every clan. Each chief delivers his sentiments in a speech full of information respecting their national customs and manners. It also displays a good picture of "the power of the *swans*, and the necessity of *feeding them with pearls*," to enable them sing with advantage. The council breaks of with the declaration of its determination to protect Akber at all hazards, and Jaita, the brother of the head of the Champawuts, is nominated to the charge of protector of Akber's family. The gallant Doorga, the Ulysses of the Rahtores, is the manager of this dramatic convention, the details of which are wound up with an eulogy, in true oriental hyperbole, in the Doric accents of Maroo:—

"Eh! Mata poot esa jin
Jessa Doorga-das
Band Moordra rakheo
Bin thamba akhas.

"Oh, mother! produce such sons as Doorga-das who first supported the dam of Moordra, and then propped the heavens."

This model of a Rajpoot, as wise as he was brave, was the saviour of his country. To his suggestion it owed the preservation of its prince, and to a series of heroic deeds, his subsequent, and more difficult salvation. Many anecdotes are extant recording the dread Arungzebe had of this leader of the Rahtores, one of which is amusing. The tyrant had commanded pictures to be drawn of two of the most mortal foes to his repose, Sevaji and Doorga: "Seva was drawn seated on a couch; Doorga in his ordinary position, on horseback, toasting *bhawties*, or barley-cakes, with the point of his lance, on a fire of maize-stalks. Arungzebe, at the first glance, exclaimed, 'I may entrap that fellow (meaning Sevaji), but this dog is born to be my bane.'"

Doorga at the head of his bands, together with young Akber, moved towards the western extremity of the state, in hopes that they might lead the emperor in pursuit amongst the sand-hills of the Looni; but the wily monarch tried other arts, and first attempted to corrupt Doorga. He sent him eight

thousand gold mohurs,* which the Rajpoot instantly applied to the necessities of Akber, who was deeply affected at this proof of devotion, and distributed a portion of it amongst Doorga's retainers. Arungzebe, seeing the futility of this plan, sent a force in pursuit of his son, who, knowing he had no hope of mercy if he fell into his father's hands, was anxious to place distance between them. Doorga pledged himself for his safety, and relinquished all to ensure it. Making over the guardianship of young Ajit to his elder brother, Soning, and placing himself at the head of one thousand chosen men, he turned towards the south. The bard enumerates the names and families of all the chieftains of note who formed the body-guard of prince Akber in this desperate undertaking. The Champawuts were the most numerous, but he specifies several of the home clans, as the Joda and Mairtea, and amongst the foreign Rajpoots, the Jadoon, Chohan, Bhatti, Deorah, Sonigurra and Mangulea.

"The king followed their retreat: his troops surrounded the Rahtores; but Doorga with one thousand chosen men left the north on their backs, and with the speed of the winged quitted the camp. Arung continued the pursuit to Jhalore, when he found he had led on a wrong scent; and that Doorga, with the prince, keeping Guzerat on his right, and Chuppun on his left, had made good his retreat to the Nerbudda. Rage so far got the better of his religion, that *he threw the Koran at the head of the Almighty.* In wrath, he commanded Azim to exterminate the Rahtores, but to leave Oodipur on one side,† and every other design, and first secure his brother. The deeds of Camunda‡ removed the troubles of Mewar, as the wind disperses the clouds which shade the brightness of the moon. In ten days after Azim marched, the emperor himself moved, leaving his garrison in Jodhpur and Ajmeer, Doorga's name was the charm which made the hosts of locusts quit their ground.§ Doorga was the sea-serpent; Akber the mountain with which they churned the ocean Arung, and made him yield the fourteen gems, one of which our religion regained, which is Lakshmi, and our faith, which is Dhunnuntari the sage.

"In fidelity who excelled the Kheechees Seo Sing and Mokund, who never left the person of Ajit, when his infancy was concealed in the mountains of Arbood? to them alone, and the faithful Sonigurra, did Doorga confide the secret of

* The Mewar chronicle says forty thousand.

† That is, dropped all schemes against it at that moment.

‡ Camdhuj; epithet of the Rahtores.

§ Charms and incantations, with music, are had recourse to, in order to cause the flight of these destructive insects from the fields they light on.

his retreat. The vassals of the *Nine Castles of Maroo* knew that he was concealed; but where or in whose custody all were ignorant. Some thought he was at Jessulmeer; others at Beekumpur; others at Sirohi. The eight divisions nobly supported the days of their exile; their sinews sustained the land of Mordhur. Raos, Rajas, and Ranas applauded their deeds, for all were alike enveloped in the net of destruction. In all the nine thousand [towns] of Mordhur, and the ten thousand of Mewar,* inhabitants there were none. Enayet Khan was left with ten thousand men to preserve Jodhpur; but the Champawut is the Soomer of Maroo, and without fear was Doorga's brother, Soning. With Khemkurn the Kurnote, and Subhul the Joda, Beejmul the Mahecha, Jaitmal Soojote, Kesuri Kurnote, and the Joda brethren Seodan and Bheem, and many more collected their clans and kin, and as soon as they heard that the king was within four coss of Ajmeer, they blockaded the Khan in the city of Joda; but twenty thousand Moghuls came to the rescue. Another dreadful conflict ensued at the gates of Jodhpur, in which the Jadoon Kesore, who led the battle, and many other chiefs were slain, yet not without many hundreds of the foe; the 9th Asar, S. 1737.

"Soning carried the sword and the flame into every quarter. Arung could neither advance nor retreat. He was like the serpent seizing the musk-rat, which, if liberated, caused blindness; but if swallowed, was like poison. Hurnat and Kana Sing took the road to Sojut. They surrounded and drove away the cattle, which brought the Asoors to the rescue. A dreadful strife ensued; the chief of the Asoors was slain, but the brothers and all their kin bedewed the land with their blood. This the *saca* of Sojat was when 1737 ended and 1738 commenced, when the sword and the pestilence *(murri* †*)* united to clear the land.

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* The number of towns and villages formerly constituting the arrondissement of each state.

† *Murri*, or '*death*' personified, is the name for that fearful scourge the spasmodic *cholera morbus* which has caused the loss of so many lives for the last thirteen years throughout India. It appears to have visited India often, of which we have given a frightful record in the Annals of Mewar in the reign of Rana Raj-Sing (See Vol. I.), in S. 1717 or A. D. 1661 (twenty years prior to the period we treat of), and Orme describes it as raging in the Dekhan in A. D. 1684. They had likewise a visitation of it within the memory of many individuals now living.

Regarding the nature of this disease, whether epidemic, or contagious, and its cure, we are as ignorant now as the first day of our experience. There have been hundreds of conflicting opinions and hypotheses, but none satisfactory. In India, nine medical men out of ten, as well as those non-professional, deny its being contagious. At Oodipur, the Rana's only son, hermetically sealed in the palace against contact, was the first seized with

"Soning was the Roodra of the field; Agra and Delhi trembled at his deeds; he looked on Arung as the waning moon. The king sent an embassy to Soning; it was peace he desired. He offered the munsub of *Sath Hazari* for Ajit, and what dignities he might demand for his brethren—the restoration of Ajmeer, and to make Soning its governor. To the engagement was added, 'the *punja* is affixed in ratification of this treaty, witnessed by God Almighty.'* The Dewan. Assud Khan, was the negociator, and the *Aremdi*,† who was with him, solemnly swore to its maintenance. The treaty concluded, the king, whose thoughts could not be diverted from Akber, departed for the Dekhan. Assud Khan was left at Ajmeer, and Soning at Mairta. But Soning was a thorn in the side of Arungzebe; he bribed the Brahmins, who threw pepper into the *homa* (burnt sacrifice) and secure for Soning a place in *Sooraj Mandala* (the mansion of the sun). The day following the treaty, by the incantations of Arung, Soning was no more.‡ Asoj the 6th, S. 1738.

"Assud sent the news to the king. This terror being removed, the king withdrew his *punja* from his treaty, and in joy departed for the Dekhan. The death of Soning shed gloom and grief over the land. Then Mokund Sing Mairtea, son of Kulian, abandoned his *munsub* and joined his country's cause. A desperate encounter soon followed with the troops of Assud Khan near Mairta, in which Ajit, the son of Beetuldas, who led the fight, was slain, with many of each clan, which gave joy to the Asoors, but grief to the faithful Rajpoot; on the second day of the bright half of the moon of Kartik, S. 1738.

"Prince Azim was left with Assud Khan; Enayet at Jodhpur; and their garrisons were scattered over the land, as their tombs

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the disorder: a pretty strong proof that it was from atmospheric communication. He was also the last man in his father's dominions likely, from predisposition, to be attacked, being one of the most athletic and prudent of his subjects. I saw him through the disorder. We were afraid to administer remedies to the last heir of Bappa Rawul, but I hinted to Amurji, who was both bard and doctor, that strong doses of musk (12 grs. each) might be beneficial. These he had, and I prevented his having cold water to drink, and also checking the insensible perspiration by throwing off the head-clothes. Nothing but his robust frame and youth made him resist this tremendous assailant.

* See Vol. I., for an explanation of the *punja*—and the treaty which preceded this, made by Rana Raj Sing, the fourth article of which stipulates for term, to the minor son of Jeswunt.

† I know not what officer is meant by the *Aremdi*, sent to swear to the good faith of the king.

‡ His death was said to be effected by incantations, most probably poison.

(*ghor*) everywhere attest. The lord of Chunpawut, Simboo Koompawut, now led the Rahtores with Oodung Sing Bukshee, and Tejsi, the young son of Doorga, *the bracelet on the arm of Muhadeva*, with Futteh Sing and Ram Sing, just return from placing Akber safety in the Dekhan, and many other valiant Rahtores.* They spread over the country even Mewar, sacked Poor-Mandil, and slew the governor Kasim Khan."

These desultory and bloody affrays, though they kept the king's troops in perpetual alarm and lost them myriads of men, thinned the ranks of the defenders of Maroo, who again took refuge in the Aravali. From hence, watching every opportunity, they darted on their prey. On one occasion, they fell upon the garrison of Jytarun, which they routed and expelled, or as the chronicle quaintly says, "with the year 1739 they also fled." At the same time, the post of Sojut was carried by Beejo Champawut, while the Jodawuts, under Ram Sing, kept their foes in play to the northward, and led by Oodi-bhan, attacked the Mirza Noor Alli at Cheraie: "the contest lasted for three hours; the dead bodies of the Yavans lay in the heaps in the Akhara; who even abandoned their Nakarras."

"After the affair of Jytarun, when Oodi Sing Champawut, and Mokhim Sing Mairtea were the leaders, they made a push for Guzerat, and had penetrated to Kheiraloo, when they were attacked, pursued, and surrounded in the hills at Rainpur, by Syed Mohammed, the Hakim of Guzerat. All night they stood to their arms. In the morning the sword rained and filled the cars of the Apsaras. Kurrun and Kesuri were slain, with Gokuldas Bhatti, with all their civil officers, and Ram Sing himself renounced life on this day.† But the Asoors pulled up the reins, having lost many men. Palli was also attacked in the month of Bhadoon this year 1739; then the game of destruction was played with Noor Alli, three hundred Rahtores against five hundred of the king's troops, which were routed, losing their leader, Ufzul Khan, after a desperate struggle.

"Balla was hero who drove the Yavan from this post. Oodya attacked the Sidi at Sojut. Jytarun was again reinforced. In Bysak, Mokhim Sing Mairtea attacked the royal post at Mairta, slew Syed Ali, and drove out the king's troops."

The year 1739 was one of the perpetual conflict, of captures and recaptures, in which many parties of twenty and thirty on each side fell. They afford numerous examples of heroic

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* Many were enumerated by the bardic chronicler, who would deem it sacrilege to omit a single name in the page of fame.

† He was one of the gallant chiefs who, with Doorga, conveyed prince Akber to the sanctuary with the Mahrattas.

patriotism, in which Rahtore blood was lavishly shed; but while to them each warrior was a loss not to be re-placed, the despot continued to feed the war with fresh troops. The Bhattis of Jessulmeer came forward this year, and nobly shed their blood in seconding the effort of the Rahtores in this patriotic warfare.

"In S. 1740, Azim and Assud Khan joined the emperor in the Dekhan, and Enayet Khan was left in command at Ajmeer —being enjoined not to relax the war in Marwar, even with setting in of the rains. Mairwarra afforded a place of rendezvous for the Rahtores, and security for their families. Here eleven thousand of best troops of Enayet invaded the hills to attack the united Jodas and Champawuts, who retaliated on Palli, Sojut, and Godwar. The ancient Mundore, which was occupied by a garrison under Khwaja Saleh, was attacked by the Mandaicha Bhatti and driven out. At Bagrie, a desperate encounter took place in the month of Bysak, when Ram Sing and Samunt Sing, both Bhatti chiefs, fell with two hundred of their vassals, slaying one thousand of the Moghuls. The Kurumsotes and Koompawuts, under Anop Sing, scoured the banks of the Looni, and put to the sword the garrisons of Oosturroh and Gangani. Mokhim, with his Mairteas, made a descent on his patrimonial lands, and drew upon him the whole force of its governor, Mohammed Alli. The Mairteas met him on their own native plans. The Yavan proposed a truce, and at the interview assassinated the head of the Mairteas, tidings of whose death rejoiced the Shah in the Dekhan.

"At the beginning of 1741, neither strife nor fear had abated. Soojan Sing led the Rahtores in the south, while Lakha Champawut and Kesar Koompawut aided by the Bhattis and Chohans, kept the garrison of Jodhpur in alarm. When Soojan was slain, the bard was sent to Singram, who held a munsub and lands from the king; he was implored to join his brethren; he obeyed, and all collected around Singram.* Sewancha† was attacked, and with Bhalotra and Panchbadra were plundered; while the blockaded garrisons were unable to aid. An hour before sunset, every gate of Maroo was shut. The Asoors had the strongholds in their power; but the plains resounded with the *An*‡ of Ajit. Oodibhan, with his Jodawuts, appeared before Bhadrajoon; he assaulted the foe and captured his guns and treasure. An attempt from Jodhpur made to recapture the trophies, added to the triumph of the Joda.

* We are not informed of what clan he was, or his rank, which must have been high.

† The track so called, of which Sewanoh is the capital.

‡ Oath of allegiance.

"Poordil Khan* held Sewanoh; and Nahur Khan Mewatti, Kunari. To attack them, the Champawuts convened at Mokulsir. Their thirst for vengeance redoubled at the tidings that Noor Alli had abducted two young women of the tribe of Assani. Rutna led the Rahtores; they reached Kunari and engaged Poordil Khan, who was put to the sword with six hundred of his men. The Rahtores left one hundred in the field that day, the ninth of Cheyt. The Mirza† no sooner heard of this defeat than he fled towards Thoda, with the Assani damsels, *gazing on the mangoes as they ripened*, and having reached Koochal, he encamped. Subhul Sing, the son of Aiskurn, heard it, he took his opium, and though the Mirza was surrounded by pillars, the dagger of Aiskurn's son reached his heart; but the Bhatti‡ was cut in pieces. The roads were now impassable; the *Thanas*§ of the Yavans were reduced to great straits.

"The year 1742 commenced with the slaughter of the king's garrison at Sambhur by the Lakhawuts and Assawuts;‖ while from Godwar the chiefs made incursions to the gates of Ajmeer. A battle took place at Mairta, where the Rahtores were defeated and dispersed; but in revenge Singram burned the suburbs of Jodhpur, and then came to Dhoonara, where once more the clans assembled. They marched, invested Jhalore, when Beharri, left without succour, was compelled to capitulate, and the gate of honour (*Dhermadwara*) was left open to him. And thus ended 1742."

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* It is almost superfluous to remark, even to the mere English reader, that whenever he meets the title *Khan*, it indicates a Mahomedan; and that of *Sing* (lion) a Rajpoot.

† Noor Alli. Mirza is a title only applied to Moghul.

‡ As a Bhatti revenged this disgrace, it is probable the Assani damsels, thus abducted by the Mirza, were of his own race.

§ Garrisons and military posts.

‖ These are of the most ancient vassalage of Maroo.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE ASIATIC SO

The clans petition to see the young Raja.—Doorjun Sal of Kotah joins the Rahtore cause.—They proceed to Aboo.—Are introduced to Ajit, who is conveyed to Ahwa, and makes a tour to all the chieftainships.—Consternation of Arungzebe.—He sets up a pretender to Jodhpur.—The Rahtores and Haras drive the Imperialists from Marwar.—They carry the war abroad.—Storm of Poor Mandil.—The Hara prince slain.—Doorgadas returns from the Dekhan.—Defeats Sefi Khan, governor of Ajmeer, who is disgraced by the king.—Sefi Khan attempts to circumvent Ajit by negociation.—His failure and disgrace.—Rebellion in Mewar.—The Rahtores support the Rana.—Arungzebe negociates for the daughter of prince Akber left in Marwar.—Ajit again driven for refuge into the hills.—Affair at Beejipur.—Success of the Rahtores.—Arungzebe's apprehension for his grand-daughter.—The Rana sends the cocanut to Ajit, who proceeds to Oodipur, and marries the Rana's niece.—Negotiations for peace renewed.—Terminate.—The surrender of the princess.—Jodhpur restored.—Magnanimity of Doorgadas.—Ajit takes possession.—Ajit again driven from his capital.—Afflictions of the Hindoo race.—A son born to Ajit, named Abhye Sing.—His horoscope.—Bairam Droonara.—The viceroy of Lahore. passes through Marwar to Gurrat.—Death of Arungzebe.—Diffuses joy.—Ajit attacks Jodhpur.—Capitulation.—Dispersion and massacre of the king's troops.—Ajit resumes his dominions.—Azim, with the title of Bahadur Shah, mounts the throne.—Battle of Agra.—The king prepares to invade Marwar.—Arrives at Ajmeer.—Proceeds to Bai Bilaru.—Sends an embassy to Ajit, who repairs to the imperial camp.—Reception.—Treacherous conduct of the emperor.—Jodhpur surprised.—Ajit forced to accompany the emperor to the Dekhan.—Discontent of the Rajas.—They abandon the king, and join Rana Umra at Oodipur.—Triple alliance.—Ajit appears before Jodhpur, which capitulates on honourable terms.—Ajit undertakes to replace Raja Jey Sing on the gadi *of Amber.—Battle of Sambhur, Ajit victorious.—Amber abandoned to Jey Sing.—Ajit attacks Bikaneer.—Redeems Nagore.—The Rajas threatened by the king.—Again unite.—The king repairs to Ajmeer.—The Rajas join him.—Receive firmans for their dominions.—Ajit makes a pilgri-*

mage to Curu-khetra.—*Reflections on the thirty years' war waged by the Rahtores against the empire for independence.—Eulogium on Doorgadas.*

"In the year 1743, the Champawuts, Koompawuts, Oodawuts, Mairteas, Jodas, Kurumsotes and all the assembled clans of Maroo, became impatient to see their sovereign. They sent for the Kheechie Mokund, and prayed that they might but behold him; but the faithful to his trust replied: 'He,* who confided him to me, is yet in the Dekhan.'—'Without the sight of our Lord, bread and water have no flavour.' Mokund could not withstand their suit. The Hara prince Doorjun Sal, having come to their aid with one thousand horse from Kotah,† they repaired to the hill of Aboo, when on the last day of Cheyt 1743, they saw their prince. 'As the lotos expands at the sunbeam, so did the heart of each Rahtore at the sight of their infant sovereign; they drank his looks, even as the *papiya* in the month Asoj sips drops of amrita (*ambrosia*) from the *Champa*.‡ There were present, Oodi Sing, Beeji-Pal, Tej Sing, Mokund Sing, and Nahur, son of Huree, all Champawuts, Raj Sing, Juggut Sing, Jeit Sing, Samunt Sing of the Oodawuts;—Ram Sing, Futteh Sing, and Kesuri, Koompawuts. There was also the Oohur chief of pure descent,§ besides the Kheechi Mokund, the Purahit, the Purihar, and the Jain priest, Yati Gyan, Beejy. In a fortunate hour, Ajit became known to the world. The Hara Rao first made his salutation; he was followed by all Marwar with offerings of gold, pearls, and horses.

"Enayet conveyed the tidings to Arung Shah; the Asoor chief said to the king, 'if without a head, so long they had combated him, what could now be expected?' he demanded reinforcements.

"In triumph they conveyed the young Raja to Ahwa, whose chief made the *budhoo* ‖ with pearls, and presented him with horses; here he was entertained, and here they prepared the *teeka dour*. Thence, taking Raepur, Bilara, and Baroonda.

* Meaning Doorgadas.

† His principal object was to marry the daughter of Sujaun Sing Champawut, the sister of the brave Mokund Sing, often mentioned in the chronicle. The Kotah prince dared not, according to every Rajpoot maxim of gallantry, refuse his aid on such occasion; but the natural bravery and high mind of Doorjun Sal required no stimulus.

‡ The Hindoo poet says the Papiya bird becomes intoxicated with the flowers.

§ A name now lost.

‖ Waving a brass vessel, filled with pearls, round his head.

in his way, and receiving the homage and nuzurs of their chiefs, he repaired to Asope, where he was entertained by the head of the Koompawuts. From Asope, he went to the Bhatti fief of Lowairoh; thence to Reah, the chief abode of the Mairteas; thence to Kewnsir, of the Kurmsotes. Each chief entertained their young lord, around whom all the clans gathered. Then he repaired to Kaloo, the abode of Pabhoo Rao Dhandul,* who came forth with all his bands; and at length he reached Pokurn, where he was joined by Doorgadas from the Dekhan, the 10th of Bhadoon 1744.

"Enayet Khan was alarmed. He assembled a numerous array to quell this fresh tumult, but death pounced upon him. The king was afflicted thereat. He tried another stratagem, and set up a pretended son of Jeswunt, styled Mohammed Shah, and offered Ajit the munsub of five thousand to submit to his authority. The pretender also died as he set out for Jodhpur, and Sujait Khan was made the governor of Marwar in the place of Enayet. Now the Rahtores and Haras united, having cleared Maroo of their foes, attacked them in a foreign land. The garrisons of Maldoora and Poor Mandil were put to the sword, and here the Hara prince was killed by a cannon shot, in leading the storm. Here they levied eight thousand mohurs in contribution and returned to Marwar, while the civil officers and Purohits made collections in his country; and thus passed 1744.

"The year 1745 commenced with proposals from Sujait Khan to hold Marwar in farm; he promised one-fourth of all transit duties if the Rahtores would respect foreign commerce; to this they agreed. The son of Enayet left Jodhpur for Delhi; he had reached Rainwal, but was overtaken by the Joda Hurnat, who released him both of wives and wealth. The Khan fled to the Cuchwahas for shelter. Sujah Beg, who left Ajmeer to release him, fared no better: he was attacked, defeated, and plundered by Mokundas Champawut.

"In 1747, Sefi Khan was Hakim of Ajmeer; Doorga determined to attack him. The Hakim took post in the pass which defends the road; there Doorga assailed him, and made him fly to Ajmeer. The tidings reached the king; he wrote to the Khan, if he discomfited Doorgadas, he would raise him over all the Khans of the empire; if he failed, he should send him bracelets,† and order Sujait from Jodhpur to supersede him. Sefi, before abandoning his trust, tried to retain his

* Pabhoo Rao Rahtore is immortalized by the aid of his lance on this occasion; he was of the ancient chivalry of Maroo, and still held his allodial domain.

† A mark of contempt.

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honours by the circumvention of Ajit. He addressed a letter to him, saying he held the imperial sunnud for the restoration of his paternal domains, but that, as the king's representative, he must come and receive it. Ajit marched at the head of twenty thousand Rahtores, sending in advance Mokund Champawut to observe whether any treachery was contemplated. The snare was discovered and reported to Ajit, as he arrived at the foot of the pass beyond the mountains. 'Let us, however, have a sight of Ajidoorg as we are so near,' said the young prince, 'and receive the compliments of the Khan.' They moved on towards the city, and Sefi Khan had no alternative but to pay his obeisance to Ajit. To enjoy his distress, one said, 'let us fire the city.' The Hakim sat trembling for its safety and his own ; he brought forth jewels and horses, which he presented to Ajit.

"In 1743, the troubles re-commenced in Mewar. Prince Umra rebelled against his father, Rana Jey Sing, and was joined by all his chiefs. The Rana fled to Godwar, and at Ganorah collected a force, which Umra prepared to attack. The Rana demanded succour of the Rahtores, and all the Mairteas hastened to relieve him ; and soon after Ajit sent Doorgadas and Bugwan, with Rinmull Joda, and 'the eight ranks of Rahtores' to espouse the father's cause. But the Chondawuts and Suktawuts, the Jhalas and Chohans, rather than admit foreign interference in their quarrel, thought it better to effect a reconciliation between father and son ; and thus the Rana was indebted to Marwar for the support of his throne.

"The year 1749 passed in negotiation to obtain the daughter of prince Akber, left in charge of Doorgadas, for whose honour Arungzebe was alarmed, as Ajit was reaching manhood ; Narayndas Koolmbi was the medium of negotiation, and Sefi Khan caused all hostilities to cease while it lasted.

"In 1750, the Mooslem governors of Jodhpur, Jhalore, and Sewanoh, combined their forces against Ajit, who was again compelled to retreat to the mountains. Akho, the Balla, received their attack, but was defeated in the month of Magh. Another combat was hastened by the wanton slaughter of a *sandh*,* when the Hakim of Chank, with all his train, were made prisoners at Mokulsir by the Champawut Mokundas.

"To such straits were the Mooslems put in 1751, that many districts paid *chouth*, others tribute, and many tired of this incessant warfare, and unable to conquer their bread, took

* One of those pampered bulls, allowed to wander at liberty and fed by every one.

service with the Rahtores. This year Kasim Khan and Lushkur Khan marched against Ajit, who took post at Beejipur. Doorga's son led the onset, and the Khan was defeated. With each year of Ajit grew the hopes of the Rahtores; while Arungzebe was afflicted at each month's growth of his grand-daughter. He wrote to Sujait, the Hakim of Jodhpur, to secure his honour at whatever cost; his applications for Akber's daughter were unwearied.

"This year the *coconut studded with gems*,* two elephants and ten steeds, all richly caparisoned, were sent by the Rana to affiance the daughter of his younger brother, Guj Sing, to Ajit. The present was accepted, and in the month of Jeit, the prince of the Rahtores repaired to Oodipur, where the nuptials were solemnized. In Asar he again married at Deolah.†

"In 1753, negotiations were renewed through Doorgadas, and the protracted restoration of the *Sultani* obtained the seat of his ancestors for the *Jodani*. Doorga was offered for himself the munsub of five thousand, which he refused; he preferred that Jhalore, Sewanchi, Sanchore, and Theraud, should revert to his country. Even Arung admired the honourable and distinguished treatment of his grand-daughter.

"In Pos 1757,‡ Ajit regained possession of his ancestral abode: on his reaching Jodhpur he slew a buffalo at each of its five gates. The Shahzada Sooltan led the way, Sujait being dead.§

"In 1759, Azim Shah again seized on Jodhpur, and Ajit made Jhalore his abode. Some of his chiefs now served the foe, some the Rana whose hopes were on Eklinga alone; while the lord of Amber served the king in the Dekhan. The enormities of the Asoors had reached their height; the sacred kine were sacrificed even at Mathoora, Pryag, and Okamandel; the Jogis and Byragis invoked heaven for protection, but iniquity prevailed as the Hindu strength decayed. Prayers were everywhere offered up to heaven to cleanse the land from the iniqui-

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* The coco, the symbol of a marriage offer.

† Pertabgurh Deolah, a small principality grown out of Mewar.

‡ I cannot now call to mind whether this break of four years in the chronicle of the bard Kurnidhan occurs in the original, or that in translating I left the hiatus from there being nothing interesting therein. The tyrant was now fully occupied in the Dekhan wars, and the Rajpoots had time to breathe.

§ This Shahzada must have been prince Azim, who was nominated viceroy of Guzerat and Marwar.

ties of the barbarians.* In this year, the month of Magh 1759, the *Mittum Lagyun* (the 'sun in Gemini'), a son was born of the Chohani, who was called Abhye Sing. (See end of this chapter, for the Horoscope of Abhye Sing.)

"In 1761, Eusoph was superseded by Murshid Kuli as Hakim of Jodhpur. On his arrival he presented the royal sunnud for the restoration of Mairta to Ajit, Koosul Sing, the Mairtea *Sirmor*, with the Dhandul Gobindas, were ordered to take the charge, which incensed the son of Indur, (Mohkim Sing), who deemed his faithful service during his minority overlooked by his preference. He wrote to the king to nominate him to the command of Marwar, and that he would fulfil his charge to the satisfaction both of Hindu and Moslem.

"In 1761, the star of the foe began to decline. Moorshid Kuli, the Moghul, was relieved by Jaffier Khan. Mohkim's letter was intercepted. He had turned traitor to his prince, and joined the king's troops. Ajit marched against them; he fought them at Droonara; the king's troops were defeated, and the rebel Eendawut was slain. This was in 1762.

"In 1763, Ibrahim Khan, the king's lieutenant† at Lahore, passed through Marwar to relieve Azim in the vice-royalty of Guzerat. On the second day of Cheit, the obscure half of the moon, the joyful tidings arrived of the death of the king.‡ On the fifth, Ajit took to horse; he reached the town of Joda, and sacrificed to the gates, but the Asoors feared to face him. Some hid their faces in fear, while others fled. The Mirza came down, and Ajit ascended to the halls of his ancestors. The wretched Yavans, now abandoned to the infuriated Rajpoots smarting under twenty-six years of misery, found no mercy. In hopeless despair they fled, and the wealth which they had amassed by extortion and oppression, returned to enrich the proprietor. The barbarians, in turn, were made captive; they fought, were slaughtered and dispersed. Some sought *sirna* (sanctuary), and found it; even the barbarian leader himself threw fear to the winds in the unconcealed sanctuary of the Koompawut. But the triumph of the Hindu was complete, when, to escape from perdition, their flying foes invoked Seeta-Ram and Hur-govind, begging their bread in the day, and taking to their heels at night. The chaplet of the Moolla served to count the name of Rana, and a handful of gold was

* This record of the manifold injuries, civil and religious, under which the Hindoo nation groaned, is quite akin to the sentiments of the letter of remonstrance addressed by Rana Raj Sing to Arungzebe.—See Vol. I.

† He is called the *sumdi*, or 'son-in-law of the king.'

‡ 5th Cheit S. 1763. The 28th Zekaud.

given to have their beards removed.* Nothing but the despair and flight of the 'Mletcha' was heard throughout Moordhur. Mairta was evacuated, and the wounded Mohkim fled to Nagore. Sojut and Palli were regained, and the land returned to the Jodani. Jodgurh was purified from the contaminations of the barbarian with the water of the Ganges and the sacred, Toolsi, and Ajit received the tilu[k] of sovereignty.

Then Azim marched from the south and Moazim from the north. At Agra a mighty battle for empire took place between the two Asoors, but Allum† prevailed and got the throne. The tidings soon reached the king, that Ajit had plundered his armies in Maroo and taken possession of the '*cushion*' of his fathers.

"The rainy season of 1764 had vanished, the king had no repose; he formed an army and came to Ajmeer. Then Huridas, the son of Bugwan, with the Oohur and Mangalee‡ chiefs, and Rutna the leader of the Oodawuts, with eight hundred of their clan entered the castle and swore to Ajit, that whatever might be his intions, they were resolved to maintain the castle to The royal army encamped at Bai Bilara, and red for the storm; but the king was advised to try rts, and an overture was made, and the messenge t back to the king accompanied by Nahur Khan. assy returned bearing the royal firman to Ajit; but would accept it, he said he would vi the royal army the first day of Phalgoon he left hill of Joda a ed Beesulpur. Here he was rece a deputation fro king, headed by Sujait Kha the Khankhana ompanied by the Raja of Rao Boodh Sing bondi:—the place of meeting That night pas adju the terms of the treaty. The ensuing morn he d at the head of all the men of Maroo; and yes of the king of the barbarians (*Mletcha*) of the lord of the earth. He gave him the t *Bahadur*.§ But fate decreed that the city of Joda coveted by the king; by stealth he sent Mairab Khan t possession Mohkim. Ajit d with chery, he com

This is the *Mirza Raja*, Jey S thet *Sowee*.

† The Mooslem historian mentions in oute to Lahore.

‡ Tri-anga, the *triple-bodied, or tri-murti*. The bard of Maroo passes over the im e which took place on this occasion of the I.

borgadas, who recommended the acc

Coronation.

The shrine of Khwaja Kootub.

* The Rajpoots Mooslems.

† Shah Allum, the throne.

‡ The Mangal stem in the reign of

§ 'The warrior

Allum to the Dekhan, and to serve under Kambaksh. Jey Sing of Amber * was also with the king, and had a like cause for discontent, a royal garrison being placed in Amber, and the *gadi* of the Raja bestowed on his younger brother, Beejoy Sing. Now the army rolled on like a sea overflowing its bounds. As soon as the king crossed the Nerbudda,† the Rajas executed their designs, and, without saying a word, at the head of their vassals retrograded to Rajpootana. They repaired to Oodipur, and were received by Rana Sungrama Sarra. rejoicing and distinction, who advanced to conduct them to his capital. Seated together, the *Chaori* waving over their heads they appeared like the *Triuna*,‡ Bramha, Vishnu and Mahesa. From this hour the fortunes of the Asoors sunk, and virtue again began to shew herself.§ From Oodipur the two Rajas passed to Marwar. They reached Ahwa, and here the Chumpawut Singram, son of Oodibhan, spread the foot-carpet (*pug moonda*) for his lord.

"The month of Sawan 1765 set in, and the hopes of the Asoor expired. Mairab was in consternation when he heard that Ajit had returned to his native land. On the 7th the hall of Joda was surrounded by thirty thousand horse. On the 12th the gate of honour was thrown open; he had to thank the son of Aiskurn || for his life, and allowed an honourable retreat, and Ajit once more entered the capital of Maru.

"Jey Sing encamped upon the bank of the Soor Sagur; prince without a country, he was But as soon as the plains were passed, Ajmal, the son of the Cuchwaha, proposed to reinstate him in Amber. When conjoined they reached Mairta, Agra and Narwar trembled. When they arrived at Ajmeer, its governor sent the *sirna* with the saint,¶ and paid the contribution demanded. Then, like the falcon, Ajit darted upon Sambhur, the vassals of Amber repaired from all quarters to the standard of their lord. With twelve thousand men advanced along the edge of the salt lake, to encounter The Koompawut led the charge; a desperate battle ensued; Hussein, with

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* Jey Sing, accompanied by the king;—the ...ge when he heard of this ... ...pelled to dissimulate and accompany ... ...ior Jey Sing had ... Bahadur was then

† ... up beards the better to distinguish them fro... ...tant fact of the inter- ... assumed the title of Bahadur Shah, on ... ...ipoot triple alliance.— ... branch of the Ghelotes, severed from th... ...e of the proffered ... a Rawul eleven centuries ago.

six thousand men, l[illegible] on the field, while the rest took to flight and sought refuge in [illegible] the castle.* His lieutenant the Purihar, *chief pandoo*,† [illegible] into the hands of Ajit; he then felt he had recovered [illegible]dore. On intelligence of this history, the Asoors abando[illegible]Amber, and having placed a garrison in Sambhur, in the n[illegible]of Megsir, Ajit restored Jey Sing to Amber, and having [illegible]red to attack Bikaneer. Ajit committed the administ[illegible]ion of all civil affairs to the faithful Raghonath Bindàrri, [illegible] the title of Dewan. He was well qualified, both from [illegible]s experience in civil affairs and from his valour as a soldier.

"In Bhadoon of [illegible]he year 1766, Arungzebe put to death Kambuksh,‡ and Jey[illegible]ng entered into negotiations with the king. Ajit now w[illegible]gainst Nagore; but Indur Sing being without res[illegible]forth and embraced Ajit's feet, who bestowed [illegible]him as a heritage. But this satisfied not him w[illegible]lord of Nagore, and Indur carried his com[illegible]no h[illegible]plaints [illegible]. The king was enraged—his threats reached the Ra[illegible]emed it safe again to re-unite. They met at Koleo n[illegible]ah, and the king soon after reached Ajmeer. Then [illegible]his firmans and the *punja* as terms of friendship t[illegible]Nahur Khan, *chelah* of the king, was the bearer[illegible]accepted, and on the 1st Asar both the Rajas rep[illegible]er. Here the king received them graciously, in th[illegible]he world; to Ajit he presented the sunnud of the *Nine* of Maroo, and to Jey Sing that of Amber. Having tak[illegible] of the king, the two Rajas went on the *purbh* to the sa[illegible] of Pooshkur. Here they separated for their respect[illegible]ns, and Ajit reached Jodhpur in Sawun 1767. In [illegible]he married a Gor Rani, and thus quenched the fued[illegible]y Arjoon. who slew Umra Sing in the Aum-khas[illegible]went on a pilgrimage to Curukhet,

* Although the [illegible]nicler takes all the credit of this action, it was fought by the [illegible]oots of the alliance. Vol. I.

† Pandoo is the [illegible]eld-bearer, of Rajpoots.

‡ Kambuksh w[illegible]he old age of the tyrant Arungzebe by a Rajpoot princess. [illegible]have held him in more affection than any of his other so[illegible]r on his death-bed to him testifies.—See Vol. I.

§ Indur Sing w[illegible]Umra, the eldest brother of Jeswunt, and the father of Mohkim, d[illegible]appointed of the government of Mairta, deserted to the

‖ This is another ous instances of contradictory feelings in the Rajpoot characterer brother of Jeswunt, was banished from Marwar, lost his and was afterwards slain at court, as already related. His son and grandson Mohkim, from Nagore which they held in separ[illegible]m the king, never forgot their title as elder branch of the famil[illegible]y contested their claim against Ajit.

made his ablutions
the field of battle of the Mahabharat, and sed away.
in the fountain of Bhisma.* Thus 1767 pa he narrative of the

Here let us, for a while, suspend the transactions of
chronicler, and take a retrospective glance of Raja Jeswunt's
the Rahtores, from the year 1737, the per presenting a conti-
death at Kabul, to the restoration of Aji In vain might we
nuous conflict of thirty years' duration such inflexible de-
search the annals of any other nation

juries of a Rahtore, even

Still, as a Rahtore, he was bound to avenge the
though his personal foe.—Singular inconsistenc ntain of this classic field

* There is an anecdote regarding the fo plifies the superstitious
of strife, the Troad of Rajasthan, which well ex r Shah was desirous to
belief of the warlike Rajpoot. The emperor Ba uity, stimulated, no
visit this scene of the exploits of the heroes e. He was
doubt, by his Rajpootni queen, or his mother, r the great
seated under a tree which shaded the sacred to hide
leaders of the *Curus*, his queen by his side, su ree with
them from profane eyes, when a vulture t up a
a bone in its beak, which falling in the bird s
scream of laughter. The king looked up ent, which was
greatly increased when the vulture addres human accents,
saying, "that in a former birth she was a was in the field
of slaughter of the *great war*, whence y with the dis-
severed arm of one of its mighty warri ch she alighted
on that very tree, that the arm was encum nderous golden
bracelet, in which, as an amulet, were s ant symbols of
Siva, and that after devouring the flesh, she bracelet, which
fell into the fountain, and it was this a incidence which had
caused the scream of laughter." We must that this the *pulchara*
of the field of slaughter, spoke Sanskrit or t, interpreted by his
Rajpoot queen. Instantly the pioneers manded to clear the
fountain, and behold the relic of the with the symbolic
emblems of the god all-perfect! and so they, that the emperor
remarked they would an wer excellently wes of the carpet'. The
Hindu princes then present, among whom was Ajit and Jey Sing,
were shocked at this levity, and each king one of the
phallic symbols. The Mirza Raja obtained are yet at
one in the Temple of Silla Devi, (1) the o of Govinda. Ajit
had one, still preserved and worshipped e of *Girdhari* at
Jodhpur. My old tutor and friend, th ndra, who told the
story while he read the chronicles as I tr as often seen and
made homage to all the three relics. Th elieved, at Boondi
or Kotah, and the Rana by some me other. They are of
pure rock crystal, and as each weighs or re must have been
giants in the days of the Bharat, to ha irteen in one armlet.
Homer's heroes were pigmies to the Cu elet we may doubt
if Ajax could have lifted. My vene though liberal in his
opinions, did not chose to dissent from t lief, for man, he said,
had, beyond a doubt, greatly degenere heroic ages, and was
rapidly approximating to the period diate forerunner of a
universal renovation, when only dwarf over the land.

(1) The goddess of arms, their

votion as marked the Rahtore character through this period of strife, during which, to use their own phrase, "hardly a chieftain died on his pallet." Let those who deem the Hindoo warrior void of patriotism read the rude chronicle of this thirty years' war; let them compare it with that of any other country, and do justice to the magnanimous Rajpoot. This narrative, the simplicity of which is the best voucher for its authenticity, presents an uninterrupted record of patriotism and disinterested loyalty. It was a period when the sacrifice of these principles was rewarded by the tyrant king with the highest honour of the state; nor are we without instances of the temptation being too strong to be withstood: but they are rare, and serve only to exhibit, in more pleasing colours, the virtues of the tribe which spurned the attempts at seduction. What a splendid example is the heroic Doorgadas of all that constitutes the glory! Valour, loyalty, integrity, combined with difficulties which surrounded him, are qualities to the admiration which his memory continues temptations held out to him were almost merely the gold, which he and thousands of his brethren have spurned, but the splendid offer of power in 'munsub of five thousand,' which would at once have raised him his vassal condition to an equality with the princes nobles of the land. Doorga had, indeed but to name '*amolac*,' but, as the bard justly says, he was revenge, so dear rice, '*unoko*' unique. Not even Rajpoot, turned him aside from the dictates of true honour the foul assassination of his brother, the brave Soning, effected though his enemies, made no alteration in his humanity when the chance of war placed his foe in his power; and in his policy seconded his virtue. His chivalrous conduct, extrication of prince Akber from inevitable destruction he fallen into his father's hands, was only surpassed by his the prince's family, as left in his care, forming a marked contrast to that of ies of his faith on similar occasions. The virtue of the ghter of Arungzebe, in the sanctuary (*sirna*) of Droon as in far better keeping than in the trebly-walled harem Of his energetic mind, and the control he exerted ose of his confiding brethren, what a proof is given, in erving the secret of the abode of his prince throughout x first years of his infancy'. But, to conclude our eulogy he words of their bard: he has reaped the immortality ned for good deeds; his memory

* Doorga's fief on t

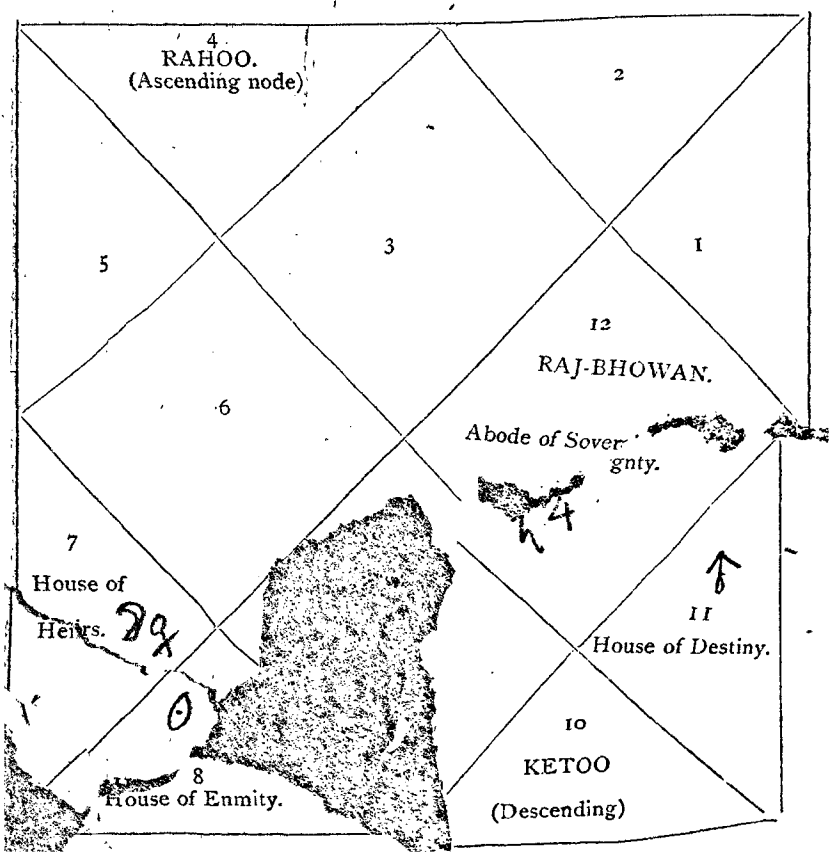
is cherished, his actions are the theme of constant praise, and his picture on his white horse, old, yet in vigour, is familiar amongst the collections of portraits of Rajpootana.*

But there was not a clan, or family, that did not produce men of worth in this protracted warfare, which incited constant emulation; and the bards of each had abundant materials to emblazon the pages of their chronicles. To the recollection of these, their expatriated descendants allude in the memorial† of their hardships from the cruel policy of the reigning chief, the last lineal descendant of the prince, whose history has just been narrated. We now resume the narrative in the language of the chronicle.

* See Vol. I.
† See Vol. I.

HOROSCOPE OF RAJA ABHYE SING.

In the *janam-patri*, or horoscope of Abhye Sing (referred to in p. 904) the 4th, 7th, 8th, 10th, 11th and 12th houses denote the destinies of the heir of Ajit. In the 4th we have the monster *Rahoo*, the author of eclipses. Of the 7th, or house of heirs, the Moon and Venus have taken possession; of the 8th, or house of strife, the Sun and Mercury. In the 10th is *Ketoo*, brother of *Rahoo*, both signs of evil portent. Mars rides in the house of fate, while Saturn and Jupiter are together in the abode of sovereignty. Like that of every man living, the horoscope of the heir of Maroo is filled with good and evil: could the *Jotishi*, or astrological seer, have put the parricidal sign in the house of destiny, he might have claimed some merit for superior intelligence. Those who have ever consulted any works on this foolish persuit, will observe that the diagrams of the European astrologers are exact copies of the Hindu, in proof of which I have inserted this: to extract darkness as well as light from the East!



CHAPTER IX.

Ajit commanded to reduce Nahn and the rebels of the Sewaluc mountains.—The emperor dies.—Civil wars.—Ajit nominated viceroy of Guzerat.—Ajit commanded to send his son to court.—Daring attack on the chief of Nagore, who is slain.—Retaliated.—The king's army invades Marwar.—Jodhpur invested.—Terms.—Abhye Sing sent to court.—Ajit proceeds to Delhi.—Coalesces with the Syed ministry of the king.—Gives a daughter in marriage to the emperor.—Returns to Jodhpur.—Repeal of the Jezeya.—Ajit proceeds to his vice-royalty of Guzerat.—Settles the province.—Worships at Dwarica.—Returns to Jodhpur.—The Syeds summon him to court.—The splendour of his train.—Leagues with the Syeds.—The emperor visits Ajit.—Portents.—Husein Alli arrives from the Dekhan.—Consternation of the opponents of the Syeds and Ajit.—Ajit blockades the palace with his Rahtores.—The emperor put to death.—Successors.—Mohammed Shah.—He marches against Amber.—Its Raja claims sanctuary with Ajit.—Obtains the grant of Ahmedabad.—Returns to Jodhpur.—Ajit unites his daughter to the prince of Amber.—The Syeds assassinated.—Ajit warned of his danger.—Seizes on Ajmeer.—Slays the governor.—Destroys the mosques and re-establishes the Hindu rites.—Ajit declares his independence.—Coins in his own name.—Establishes weights and measures, and his own courts of justice.—Fixes the gradations of rank amongst his chiefs.—The Imperialists invade Marwar.—Abhye Sing heads thirty thousand Rahtores to oppose them.—The king's forces decline battle.—The Rahtores ravage the Imperial provinces.—Abhye Sing obtains the surname of Sankul, or exterminator.—Returns to Jodhpur.—Battle with Ajit gives sanctuary to Choramun Jat, fou[illegible] avenge the defeat of himself at the head of [illegible]ce.—Ajit agrees to Sambhur.—Ajmeer in[illegible]ls to the imperial surrender Ajmeer.—Ab[illegible] bearing.—Murder camp.—His reception[illegible]ard. Blank leaf of Ajit by his son. [illegible] event.—Extract of the Raj Roopace[illegible]ens and fifty-from that chronicle.—[illegible]—Expostulaeight concubines [illegible]ne Satis.—[illegible] tions of the Nazir [illegible]ohits.—They fail. cession.—Rite co[illegible]flections on Ajit's life history.

"In 1768, Ajit was sent against Nahn and the chiefs of the snowy mountains, whom he reduced to obedience. Thence he went to the Ganges, where he performed his ablutions, and in the spring he returned to Jodhpur.

"In 1769, Shah Allum went to heaven. The torch of discord was lighted by his sons, with which they fired their own dwelling. Azim Ooshawn was slain, and the umbrella of royalty waved over the head of Moiz-oo-deen. Ajit sent the Bindarri Kaimsi to the presence, who returned with the sunnud of the vice-royalty of Guzerat. In the month of Megsir 1769, he prepared an army to take possession of the *Satra-sches*,* when fresh dissensions broke out in the house of the Chagitai. The Syeds slew Moiz-oo-deen, and Ferochsear became king. Zoolfecar Khan was put to death, and with him departed the strength of the Moghuls. Then the Syeds became headstrong. Ajit was commanded to send his son, Abhye Sing, now seventeen years of age, with his contingent, to court; but Ajit having learned that the traitor Mokund was there and in great favour, sent a trusty band, who slew him even in the middle of Delhi. This daring act brought the Syed with an army to Jodhpur. Ajit sent off the men of wealth to Sewanoh, and his son and family to the desert of Rardurroh.† The capital was invested, and Abhye Sing demanded as a hostage for the conduct of Ajit, who was also commanded to court. To neither was the Raja inclined, but the advice of the Dewan, and still more of Kesar the bard, who gave as a precedent the instance of Rao Ganga when invaded by the Lodi, Dowlut Khan, who entrusted his affairs to his son, Maldeo, was unanimously approved.‡ Abhye Sing was recalled from Rardurroh, and marched with Hosein Alli to Delhi, the end of Asar 1770. The heir of Maroo received the munsub of five thousand from the king.

"Ajit followed his son to the court, then held at Delhi. There the sight of the altars raised over the ashes of chiefs who had perished to preserve him in his infancy, kindled all his wrath, and he meditated revenge on the whole house of Timoor. Four distinct causes for displeasure had Ajmal:—

"1st. The *Noroza*; §

"2nd. The compulsory marriage of their daughters with the king;

* The 'seventeen thousand' towns of Guzerat.

† The tract west of the Looni.

‡ They slur over the most important demand—a daughter to wife to the king—it is at this Ajit hesitates, and for which the precedent is given.

§ See Vol. I.

"3rd. The killing of kine;
"4th. The *Jezeya*, or capitation tax." *

Here we must interrupt the narrative, in order to supply an important omission of the bard, who slurs over the hardest of the conditions demanded of Ajit on the invasion of the Syed, *viz.*, the giving a daughter to Ferochsear, the important political results of which are already related in the first part of this work.† This compulsory marriage only aggravated Ajit's desire of vengeance, and he entered into the views of the Syeds with the true spirit of his father; obtaining meanwhile, as the price of coalition, the compliance with the specified demands, besides others of less moment, such as "that the bell for prayer should be allowed to toll in the quarters of the city allotted to the Rajpoots, and that their temples should be held sacred; and last, but not least, the aggrandisement of his hereditary dominions." Let us again recur to the chronicle.

"In Jeit 1771, having secured all his wishes, Ajit left the court, and with the renewed patent as viceroy of Guzerat, returned to Jodhpur. Through Kaimsi, his minister, the *Jezeya* was repealed. The Hindoo race owed eternal obligation to the Mor (*crown*) of Mordhur, the sanctuary of princes in distress.

"In 1772, Ajit prepared to visit his government: Abhye Sing accompanied his father. He first proceeded to Jhalore, where he passed the rainy season. Thence he attacked the '*Mewasso*:'‡ first Neemuj, which he took, when the Deoras paid him tribute. Feeroz Khan advanced from Palhanpur to meet him. The Ran of Therad paid a lack of rupees. Cambay was invested and paid; and the Koli chief, Kemkurn, was reduced. From Patun, Sukta the Champawut, with Beejo Bindarri, sent the year preceding to manage the province, came forth to meet him.

"In 1773, Ajit reduced the Jhala of Hulwud, and Jam of Noanuggur, who paid as tribute three lacks of rupees, with twenty-five choice steeds; and having settled the province, he worshipped at Dwarica, and bathed in the Gomtee.§ Thence he

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* Described in Vol. I.

† Vol. I.

‡ *Mewasso* is a term given to the fastnesses in the mountains, which the aboriginal tribes, Kolis, Meenas, and Mairs, and not unfrequently the Rajpoots, make their retreats; and in the present instance the bard alludes to the 'Mewasso' of the Deoras of Sirohi and Aboo, which has annoyed the descendants of Ajit to this hour, and has served to maintain the independence of this Chohan tribe.

§ This is all in the district of Oka (*Oka-mandala*), where the Badhails fixed themselves on the migration of Sevaji from Canouj. It would have been instructive had the bard deigned to have given us any account of the

returned to Jodhpur, where he learned that Indur Sing had regained Nagore; but he stood not before Ajit.

"The year 1774 had now arrived. The Syeds and their opponents were engaged in civil strife. Hosein Alli was in the Dekhan, and the mind of Abdoolla was alienated from the king. Paper on paper came, inviting Ajit. He marched by Nagore, Mairta, Poshkur, Marote, and Sambhur, whose garrisons he strengthened, to Delhi. From Marote he sent Abhye Sing back to take care of Jodhpur. The Syed advanced from Delhi to meet the *Dhunni* (lord) of Marwar, who alighted at Aliverdi's serai. Here the Syed and Ajit formed a league, to oppose Jey Sing and the Moghuls, while the king remained like a snake coiled up in a closed vessel. To get rid of their chief opponent, Zoolfecar Khan, was first determined.

"When the king heard that Ajit had reached Delhi, he sent the Hara Rao Bheem of Kotah, and Khandowran Khan to introduce him to the presence. Ajit obeyed. Besides his own Rahtores, he was accompanied by Rao Bishen Sing of Jessulmeer, and Puddum Sing of Derawul, with Futteh Sing a noble of Mewar, Maun Sing Rahtore, chief of Seeta Mhow, and the Chunderawut, Gopal of Rampura, besides Oodi Sing of Kundaila, Sukut Sing of Munohurpur, Kishen of Kulchipur, and many others.* The meeting took place at the Moti Bagh. The king bestowed the *Munsub of Heft Hezari* (seven thousand horse) on Ajit, and added a crore of *dams* to his rent-roll. He presented him with the insignia of the *Mahi Moratib*, with elephants and horses, a sword and dagger, a diamond aigrette (*Sirpech*) and plume, and a double string of pearls. Having left the presence, Ajit went to visit Abdoolla Khan. The Syed advanced to meet him, and his reception, with his attendants, was distinguished. They renewed their determination to stand or fall together. Their conference caused dismay to the Moghuls, who lay in ambush to put Ajit to death.

"On the second day of the bright moon of Pos, 1775, the king honoured Ajit with a visit. Ajit seated the king on a throne formed of bags of rupees to the amount of one lack,† and presented elephants, horses, and all that was precious. In the month of Falgoon, Ajit and the Syed went to visit the king; and after the conference wrote to Hosein Alli revealing their

recognition which this visit occasioned, and which beyond a doubt caused the 'books of Chronicles and Kings' to be opened and referred to.

* This list well exemplifies the tone now assumed by the Rahtores; but this grand feudal assemblage was in virtue of his office of viceroy of Guzerat. Each and all of these chieftainships the author is as familiar with as with the pen he now holds.

† £10,000 to £12,000.

plans, and desiring his rapid march to unite with them from the Dekhan. Now the heavens assumed portentous appearances; the *desa*,* was red and fiery; jackasses brayed unusually; dogs barked; thunder rolled without a cloud; the court, late so gay, was now sad and gloomy; all were forebodings of change at Delhi. In twenty days, Hosein reached Delhi; his countenance was terrific; his drum, which now beat close to the palace, was the knell of falling greatness. He was accompanied by myriads of horse. Delhi was enveloped in the dust raised by his hostile steeds. They encamped in the north of the city, and Hosein joined Ajit and his brother. The trembling king sent congratulations and gifts; the Moghul chiefs kept aloof in their abodes; even as the quail cowers in the grass when the falcon hovers over it, so did the Moghuls when Hosein reached Delhi. The lord of Amber was like a lamp left without oil. 'On the second day, all convened at Ajit's tents, on the banks of the Jumna to execute the plans now determined upon. Ajit mounted his steed; at the head of his Rahtores, he marched direct to the palace, and at every post he placed his own men: he looked like the fire destined to cause *pralaya*.† When the sun appears, darkness flies; when the oil fails, the lamp goes out: so is it with crowns and kings, when good faith and justice, the oil that feeds their power, is wanting. The crash which shivered the umbrella of Delhi reverberated throughout the land. The royal treasuries were plundered. None amidst the Moghuls came forward to rescue their king (Ferochsear), and Jey Sing fled from the scene of destruction. Another king was set up, but in four months he was seized with a distemper and died. Then Dowlah ‡ was placed on the throne. But the Moghuls at Delhi set up Neko Shah at Agra, and Hosein marched against them, leaving Ajit and Abdoolla with the king.' §

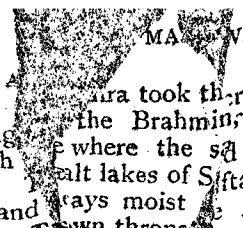
"In 1776, Ajit and the Syed moved from Delhi; but the Moghuls surrendered Neko Shah, who was confined in Selimgurh. At this time the king died, and Ajit and the Syeds made another, and placed Mahomed Shah on the throne. Many countries were destroyed, and many were made to flourish, during the dethronement of kings by Ajit. With the death of

* Omen of the quarter.

† The final doom.

‡ Ruffeh-ool Dowla.

§ This is both minutely and faithfully related, and fully as much so as the Mahomedan record of this black deed. We have already (Vol. I.) described it, and given a translation of an autograph letter of the prince of Amber, written on this memorable day. The importance of the transaction, as well as the desire to shew the Bardic version, will justify its repetition.



[illegible]ra took the [illegible]rushed, and the Syeds Ferochsear Jey Sing[illegible] the Brahmin, Amber was like water determined to punish [illegible] where the sa[illegible] the Durgah at Sikri, in carried in a platter.* [illegible]alt lakes of Sifains sought the *sirna* progress to Amber, and [illegible]ays moist [illegible] *Khoorm* was lost if he (sanctuary) of Ajit. Th[illegible]wn throne[illegible]. Even as Krishna saved protected them not agains[illegible] He [illegible] take Jey Sing under his Arjoon in the Bharat, s[illegible] Ajit[illegible] Champawuts and his protection. He sent the chiefs of the [illegible]rned with the lord of minister to dispel his fears; they retu[illegible]d the doom (*pralaya*). Amber, who felt like one who had escape[illegible]nd saved another from Ajit placed one monarch on the throne, a[illegible] the grant of destruction. The king bestowed upo[illegible] visit his home. Ahmedabad, and gave him permiss[illegible] Hara of Boondi With Jey Sing of Amber, and Bood[illegible] acted a marriage he marched for Jodhpur, and in the way [illegible] Munohurpur. In with the daughter of the Shekhawut chie[illegible] when the lord of the month of *Sravan*, he reached Joda[illegible]a Rao no[illegible] Amber encamped at Soor Sagur, and the Ha[illegible]th of the town.

"The cold season had fled; the spring (*bussunt*) approached. The peacock was intoxicated with the nectar-drops distilled from the sweet blossomed *ama* (mango); the rich sap exuded; the humming-bees clustered round the flowers; new leaves budded forth; songs of joy resounded; the hearts of gods, men, and women expanded with mirth. It was then the lord of Amber was bedecked in saffron robes, to espouse the 'virgin of the sun' (*Surya Kumari*), the child of Ajit. On this he had consulted the Champawuts, and according to ancient usage, the *Ad-Purdhan*, or chief minister, the Koompawut: likewise the Bindarri Dewan, and the Guru. But were I to dwell on these festivities, this book would become too large; I therefore say but little!

"The rains of 1777 set in, and Jey Sing and Bood Sing remained with Ajit, when a messenger arrived with tidings that the Moghuls had assassinated the Syeds, and were now on the watch for Ajit. He drew his sword, and swore he would possess himself of Ajmeer. He dismissed the lord of Amber. In twelve days after Ajit reached Mairta. In the face of day he drove the Mooslem from Ajmeer and made it his own. He slew the king's governor and seized on Tarragurh.† Once more the bell of prayers was heard in the temple, while the *bang*‡ of the Mesjid was silent. Where the *Koran* was read, the *Puran*

* In allusion to his vacillation, for which the 'Mirza Raja' was notorious.

† The *Star Fort*, the castle of Ajmeer.

‡ The call to prayer of the Mooslem.

was now heard, and the M views we
The Kazi made way fo n. The lord place of the Mosque
sacrifice (*homa*) was du he king reach and the pit of burnt
He took possession of the here the chi ered kine were slain.
and the records were a ey said th ambhur and Didwanoh,
quests. Ajit ascended his t the Syed with inserting fresh con-
macy he waved over his h did ; the umbrella of supre-
established his own *gr* ead. coined in his own name,
courts of justice, and a z (measure), and *seer* (weight), his own
nalkees and mace-bea new scale of rank for his chiefs, with
emblem of sovereign rers, nobuts and standards, and every
Aspati in Delhi rule. Ajmal in Ajmeer was equal to
reached even Me e intelligence spread over the land; it
faith, while the Iran, that Ajit had exalted his own
land of Maroo. Islam were prohibited throughout the

"In 1778, the
the command to determined to regain Ajmeer. He gave
Marwar uffur, who in the rains advanced to-
wards the Ajit entrusted the conduct of this war to
his son, shield of Maroo,' the 'fearless' (*Abhye*), with
the eight great vassals, and thirty thousand horse; the
Champawuts on the right, the Koompawuts on the left,
while the Kurumsotes, Mairteas, Jodas, Eendos, Bhattis, Soni-
gurras, Deoras, Kheechies, Dhonduls and Gogawuts,† compose the main body. At Amber, the Rahtores and imperialists came in sight; but Mozuffur disgraced himself, and retired within that city without risking an encounter. Abhye Sing, exasperated at this display of pusillanimous bravado, determined to punish the king. He attacked Shahjehanpur, sacked Narnol, levied contributions on Patun (*Tuarvati*) and Rewari. He gave the villages to the flames, and spread conflagration and consternation even to Aliverdi's serai. Delhi and Agra trembled with affright; the Asoors fled without their shoes at the deeds of Abhye, whom they styled *Dhonkul*,

* This exact imitation of the manners of the imperial court is still strictly maintained at Jodhpur. The account of the measures which followed the possession of Ajmeer is taken from the chronicle *Surya Prakas*; the only part not entirely translated from the *Raj Roopac Akheat*. Ajmal is a license of the poet, where it suits his rhyme for Ajit. Aspati, 'lord of steeds,' is the common epithet applied to the emperors of Delhi. It is, however, but the second degree of paramount power—Gujpati 'lord of elephants,' is the first.

† The two latter tribes are amongst the most ancient of the allodial chieftains of the desert; the Dhonduls being descendants of Rao Gango: the Gogawuts, of the famous Goga, the Chohan, who defended the Sutleje in the earliest Mooslem invasion recorded. Both Goga and his steed *Jowadia* are immortal in Rajasthan. The author had a chestnut Cattiawar, called *Jowadia*; he was perfection, and a piece of living fire when mounted scorning every pace but the antelope's bounds and curvets.

'the exterminator.' He returned by Sambhur and Ludhana, and here he married the daughter of the chief of the Naroocas*

"In 1779, Abhye Sing remained at Sambhur, which he strengthened, and hither his father, Ajit, came from Ajmeer. The meeting was like that between Kasyapa and Surya, for he had broken the bow of Muzuffur and made the Hindu happy. The king sent his *Chelah*, Nahur Khan, to expostulate with Ajit; but his language was offensive, and the field of Sambhur devoured the tiger lord (Nahur Khan) and his four thousand followers. The son of Choramun the Jat† now claimed sanctuary with Ajit. Sick of these dissentions, the unhappy Mahomed Shah determined to abandon his crown, and retire to Mecca. But determined to revenge the death of Nahur Khan, he prepared a formidable army. He collected (the contingents of) the twenty-two Satraps‡ of the empire, and placed at their head Jey Sing of Amber, Hyder Kooli, Eradut Khan Bungush, &c. In the month of Srawun (July), Tarragurh was invested; Abhye Sing marched out and left its defence to Umra Sing. It had held out four months, when through the prince of Amber (Jey Sing), Ajit listened to terms, which were sworn to on the *Koran* by the nobles of the king; and he agreed to surrender Ajmeer. Abhye Sing then accompanied Jey Sing to the camp. It was proposed that in testimony of his obedience he should repair to the presence. The prince of Amber pledged himself, but the fearless (*Abhye*) placed his hand on his sword, saying, 'this is my surety.'"

The heir of Marwar was received by the king with the utmost honour; but being possessed of a double portion of that arrogance which forms the chief characteristic of his race, (more especially of the Rahtore and Chohan, from which he sprang), his reception nearly produced at Delhi a repetition of the scene recorded in the history of his ancestor Umra at Agra. Knowing that his father held the first place on the king's right hand, he considered himself, as his representative, entitled to the same honour, and little heeding the unbending etiquette of the proudest court in the world, he unceremoniously hustled past all the dignitaries of the state, and had even ascended a step of the throne, when, checked by one of the nobles, Abhye's hand was on his dagger, and but for the presence of mind of the monarch "who threw his own chaplet round his neck" to restrain him, the Divan would have been deluged with blood.

* One of the great clans of Amber: of whom more hereafter.
† Founder of the Bhurtpore state.
‡ The Byeesa, or 'twenty-two' viceroys of India.

We shall now drop the chronicles, and in recording the murder of Ajit, the foulest crime in the annals of Rajasthan, signify the mode in which their poetic historians gloss over such events. It was against Ajit's will that his son went to court, as if he had a presentiment of the fate which awaited him, and which has been already circumstantially related.* The authors from whose records this narrative is chiefly compiled, were too polite to suffer such a stigma to appear in their chronicles, written by desire and under the eye of the parricide, Ajit's successor. The *Surya Prakas* merely says, "at this time Ajit went to heaven;" but affords no indication of the person who sent him there. The *Raj Roopava*, however, not bold enough to avow the mysterious death of his prince, yet too honest altogether to pass it over, has left an expressive blank leaf at this part of his chronicle, certainly not accidental, as it intervenes Abhye Sing's reception at court, and the incidents following his father's death, which I translate *verbatim*, as they present an excellent picture of the results of a Rajpoot potentate's demise.

"Abhye, a second Ajit, was introduced to the *Aspati*; his father heard the news and rejoiced. But this world is a fable, —a lie. Time will sooner or later prey on all things. What king, what Raja can avoid the path leading to extinction? The time allotted for our sojourn here is predetermined; prolong it we cannot. The decree penned by the hand of the Creator is engraven upon each forehead at the hour of birth. Neither addition nor subtraction can be made. Fate (*honhar*) must be fulfilled. It was the command of *Govinda*,† that Ajit (the Avatar of Indra) should obtain immortality, and leave his renown in the world beneath. Ajit, so long a thorn in the side of his foe, was removed to *Paraloca*.‡ He kept afloat the faith of the Hindu, and sunk the Mooslem in shame. In the face of day, the lord of Maroo took the road which leads to Paradise (*Vaicoonta*). Then dismay seized the city; each looked with dread in his neighbour's face as he said 'our sun has set!' But when the day of *Yama-raj*§ arrives, who can retard it? Were not the five *Pandus* enclosed in the mansion of Himalaya?‖ Harchund escaped not the universal decree; nor will gods, men, or reptiles avoid it, not even *Vicrama* or *Karna*; all fall before *Yama*. How then could Ajit hope to escape?

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* See Vol. I.
† The sovereign judge of mankind.
‡ 'The other world'; lit. 'another place.'
§ 'Lord of hell.'
‖ *Him* 'ice' *alya*, 'an abode.'

"On Asar, the 13th, the dark half of the moon of 1780, seventeen hundred warriors of the eight ranks of Maroo, for the last time mustered before their lord.* They placed his body in a boat† and carried him to the pyre,‡ made of sandal wood and perfumes, with heaps of cotton, oil, and camphor. But this is a subject of grief: how can the bard enlarge on such a theme? The Nazir went to the *Rawula* § and as he pronounced the words '*Rao sidaoe.*' the Chohani queen, with sixteen damsels in her suite, came forth: 'This day,' said she, 'is one of joy; my lord shall be illustrated; our lives have passed together, how then can I leave him?'‖

"Of noble race was the Bhattiani queen, a scion (*sakha*) of Jessul, and daughter of Birjung. She put up a prayer to the Lord who wields the discus.¶ 'With joy I accompany my lord; that my fealty (*sati*) may be accepted, rests with Him.' In like manner did the Gazelle (*Mirgavati*) of Dera** and the Tuar queen of pure blood,†† the Chaora Rani,‡‡ and Shekhavati, invoke the name of Heri, as they determined to join their lord. For these six queens death had no terrors, but they were the affianced wives of their lord: the rest were wives of affection, to the number of fifty-eight, determined to offer themselves a sacrifice to Agni.§§ 'Such another opportunity,' said they, 'can never occur, if we survive our lord; disease will seize and make us a prey in our apartments. Why then quit the society of our lord, when at all events we must fall into the hands of *Yama*, for whom the human race is but a mouthful? Let us leave the iron age (*Kalyuga*) behind us.' 'Without our lord, even life is death,' said the Bhattiani, as she wound the beads of Toolsi round her neck, and made the *tilac* with earth from the Ganges. While thus each spoke, Nathoo, the Nazir,‖‖ thus addressed them: 'This is no amusement; the sandal-wood you now anoint with is cool: but will your resolution abide, when you remove it with the flames of Agni?

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* Both head and feet are uncovered in funeral processions.

† *Id est* a vehicle formed like a boat, perhaps figurative of the sail crossing the 'Voiturna,' or Styx of the Hindu.

‡ For the mode of conveying princes to their final abode, I refer the reader to a description at Vol. I, Trans. Royal Asiatic Society.

§ The queen's palace.

‖ This is the lady whom Ajit married in his non-age, the mother of the Parricide.

¶ Crishna.

** Ancient capital of the Bhattis.

†† Descended from the ancient dynasty of the Hindu kings of Delhi.

‡‡ Tribe of the first dynasty of Anhulwara Pattun.

§§ The fire.

‖‖ The Nazir (a Mooslem epithet) has the charge of the harem.

When this scorches your tender frames, your hearts may fail, and the desire to recede will disgrace your l[illegible] memory. Reflect, and remain where you are. You have [illegible] like Indrani,* nursed in softness amidst flowers and perfu[illegible]; the winds of heaven never offended you, far less the flames [illegible]re.' But to all his arguments they replied: 'The world we wil[illegible]andon, but never our lord.' They performed their ablutio[illegible]ecked themselves in their gayest attire, and for the last ti[illegible] made obeisance to their lord in his car. The ministers, [illegible] bards, the family priests *(Purohits)*, in turn, expostulated w[illegible] them. The chief queen *(Patrani)* the Chohani, they told t[illegible]dulge her affection for her sons, Abhye and Bukhta; to feed [illegible]e poor, the needy, the holy, and lead a life of religious de[illegible]tion. The queen re-pli[illegible] Koonti, the wife of Pandu, did n[illegible] follow her lord; she li[illegible] see the greatness of the *five brothers*, her sons; but w[illegible] expectations realized? This life is a vain shadow; t[illegible]lling one of sorrow; let us acc[illegible]mpany our lord to that [illegible]nd there close it.'

[illegible]he drum sounded; the funeral train moved on; all in-v[illegible]he name of *Heri*.† Charity was dispensed like falling r[illegible] while the countenances of the queens were radiant as the sun. From heaven Uma‡ looked down; in recompense of such devotion she promised they should enjoy the society of Ajit in each successive transmigration. As the smoke, emitted from the house of flame, ascended to the sky, the assembled multitudes shouted *Khaman! Khaman!* 'well done! well done!' The pile flamed like a volcano; the faithful queens laved their bodies in the flames, as do the celestials in the lake of *Mansarwar*. §They sacrificed their bodies to their lord, and illustrated the races whence they sprung. The gods above exclaimed, '*Dhun Dhun*|| Ajit! who maintained the faith, and overhelmed the

* The queen of heaven.

† Heri Crishna is the mediator and preserver of the Hindu Triad: his name alone is invoked in the funeral rites. (See Vol. i.) The following extract from Dr. Wilkin's translation of the *Geeta* will best disclose his attributes as Crishna speaks:

"I am the journey of the good; the comforter; the creator; the witness: the resting-place; the asylum; and the friend. I am generation and dissolution: the place where all things are deposited, and the inexhaustible soul of all nature. I am death and immortality; I am never-failing time; the preserver, whose face is turned on all sides. I am all grasping death; and I am the resurrection of those who are about to die."

‡ A name of Doorga, the Hindu juno.

§ The sacred lake in Thibet.

|| *Dhun* is 'riches,' but is here used in the sense of glory; so that riches and glory are synonimous in term with the Hindu, as in practice in the west; the one may always command the other, at least that species of it for which nine-tenths of mankind contend, and are satisfied with obtaining.

Asuras.' Savitri, Gouri, Sarasvati, Gunga, and Gomti * united in doing honour to these faithful queens. Forty-five years, three months, and twenty-two days, was the space of Ajit's existence, when he went to inhabit Amrapura, *an immortal abode*!"

Thus closed the career of one of the most distinguished princes who ever pressed the 'cushion' of Maroo; a career as full of incident as any life of equal duration. Born amidst the snows of Cabul, deprived at his birth of both parents, one from grief, the other by suicidal custom; saved from the Herodian cruelty of the king by the heroism of his chiefs, nursed amidst the rocks of Aboo or the intricacies of the Aravulli until the day of danger passed, he issued forth, still an infant, at the head of his brave clans, to redeem the inheritance so iniquitously wrested from him. In the history of mankind there is nothing to be found presenting a more brilliant picture of fidelity, than that afforded by the Rahtore clans in their devotion to their prince, from his birth until he worked out his own and his country's deliverance. It is one of those events which throw a gleam of splendour upon the dark picture of feudalism, more prolic perhaps in crime than in virtue. That of the Rajpoots, indeed, in which consanguinity is superadded to the other reciprocities which bind a feudal body, wears the more engaging aspect of a vast family. How affecting is the simple language of these brave men, while daily shedding their blood for a prince whom, until he had attained his seventh year, they had never beheld! "Without the sight of our lord, bread and water have no flavour." And how successfully does the bard pourtray the joy of these stern warriors, when he says, "as the lotus expands at the sun-beam, so did the heart of each Rahtore at the sight of their infant sovereign; they drank his looks even as the *pepaya* in the month of Asoj sips the drops of *amrita* (ambrosia) from the *Champa*."

The prodigality with which every clan lavished its blood, through a space of six-and-twenty years, may in part be learned from the chronicle; and in yet more forcible language from the cenotaphs scattered over the country, erected to the *manes* of those who fell in this religious warfare. Were other testimony required, it is to be found in the annals of their neighbours and their conquerors; while the traditional couplets of the bards, familiar to every Rajpoot, embalm the memory of the exploits of their forefathers.

Ajit was a prince of great vigour of mind as well as of frame. Valour was his inheritance; he displayed this heredi-

* Celestial queens.

tary quality at the early age of eleven, when he visited his enemy in his capital, displaying a courtesy which can only be comprehended by a Rajpoot. Amongst the numerous desultory actions, of which many occurred every year, there were several in which the whole strength of the Rahtores was led by their prince. The battle of Sambhur, in S. 1765, fought against the Syeds, which ended in an union of interests, was one of these; and, for the rest of Ajit's life, kept him in close contact with the court, where he might have taken the lead, had his talent for intrigue been commensurate with his boldness. From this period until his death, Ajit's agency was recognized in all the intrigues and changes amongst the occupants of Timoor's throne, from Ferochsear to Mahomed. He inherited an invincible hatred to the very name of Mooslem, and was not scrupulous regarding the means by which he was likely to secure the extirpation of a race so inimical to his own. Viewing the manifold reasons for this hatred, we must not scrutinize with severity his actions when leagued with the Syeds, even in the dreadful catastrophe which overwhelmed Ferochsear, to whom he owed the two-fold duty of fealty and consanguinity.

There is one stain on the memory of Ajit, which, though unnoticed in the chronicle, is too well ascertained to be omitted in a summary of his character, more especially as it illustrates that of the nation and of the times, and shews the lose system which holds such governments together. The heroic Doorgadas, the preserver of his infancy, the instructor of his youth, the guide of his manhood, lived to confirm the proverb, "put not thy faith in princes." He, who by repeated instances of exalted self-denial, had refused wealth and honours that might have raised himself from his vassal condition to an equality with his sovereign, was banished from the land which his integrity, wisdom, and valour had preserved. Why, or when, Ajit loaded himself with this indelible infamy was not known; the fact was incidentally discovered in searching a collection of original newspapers written from the camp of Bahadoor Shah,* in one of which it was stated, that "Doorgadas was encamped with his household retainers on the banks of the Peshola Lake at Oodipur, and receiving daily five hundred rupees for his support from the Rana; who, when called on by the king (Bahadur Shah) to surrender him, magnanimously, refused." Imagining that Ajit had been compelled to this painful sacrifice, which is not noticed in the annals, the compiler mentioned it to a *Yati* deeply versed in all the events and transactions of this state. Aware of the circumstance, which is not overlooked

* Discovered by the Author amongst the Rana's archieves.

by the bards, he immediately repeated the couplet composed on the occasion :

"*Doorga, des-sa kar-jea*
"*Gola, Gangani !*"

"Doorga was exiled, and Gangani given to a slave."

Gangani, on the north bank of the Looni, was the chief town of the Kurnote fief, of which clan Doorga was the head. It is now attached to the *Khalisa*, or fisc, but whether recently, or ever since Doorga, we know not. The Kurnotes still pay the last rites to their dead at Gangani, where they have their cenotaphs *(chehtris)*. Whether that of the noble Doorga stands there to serve as a memorial of princely ingratitude, the writer cannot say ; but the portrait of the hero, in the autumn of his days, as given me by the last lineal descendant of Ajit, is already before the reader.* Well may we repeat, that the system of feudality is the parent of the most brilliant virtues and the darkest crimes ! Here, a long life of uninterrupted fidelity could not preserve Doorga from the envenomed breath of slander, or the serpent-tooth of ingratitude : and whilst the mind revolts at the crime which left a blank leaf in the chronicle, it is involuntarily carried back to an act less [illegible] deed, than one which violates the laws of nature, less diminishing none of our horror for Abhye Sing, yet [illegible]pathy for the persecutor of Doorgadas.

CHAPTER X.

The parricidal murder of Ajit, the cause of the destruction of Marwar.—The parricide, Abhye Sing, invested as Raja by the emperor's own hand.—He returns from court to Jodhpur.—His reception.—He distributes gifts to the bards and priests.—The bards of Rajpootana.—Kurna, the poetic historian of Marwar.—Studies requisite to form a Bardai. *—Abhye Sing reduces Nagore.—Bestows it in appanage upon his brother Bukhta.—Reduces the turbulent allodialists.—Commanded to court.—Makes a tour of his domain.—Seized by the small-pox.—Reaches the court.—Rebellion of the viceroy of Guzerat, and of prince Jungali in the Dekhan.—Picture of the Moghul court at this time.—The* beera *of foreign service against the rebels described.—Refused by the assembled nobles.—Accepted by the Rahtore prince.—He visits Ajmeer, which he garrisons.—Meeting at Pooshkur with the Raja of Amber.—Plan the destruction of the empire.—At Mairta is joined by his bro[illegible] Sing.—Reaches Jodhpur.—The* kher, *or feu[illegible]as Marwar, assemble.—Consecration of the guns[illegible]m-carry off the cattle of the train.—Rajpoot cont[illegible].—crated.—Abhye reduces the Meena strongholds[illegible]age The Sirohi prince submits, and gives a daughter in ma[illegible] as a peace-offering.—The Sirohi contingent joins [illegible] Sing.—Proceeds against Ahmedabad.—Summons the vicero to surrender.—Rajpoot council of war.—Bakhta claims t lead the van.—The Rahtore prince sprinkles his chiefs with saffronwater.—Sirbullund's plan of defence.—His guns manned by Europeans.—His body-guard of European musketeers.—The storm.—Victory gained by the Rajpoots.—Surrender of Sirbullund.—He is sent prisoner to the emperor.—Abhye Sing governs Guzerat.—Rajpoot contingents enumerated.—Conclusion of the chronicles, the* Raj Roopaca *and* Surya Prakas.—*Abhye Sing returns to Jodhpur.—The spoils conveyed from Guzerat.*

The parricidal murder of Ajit is accounted the germ of destruction, which, taking root in the social edifice of Marwar, ultimately rent it asunder. Bitter has been the fruit of this crime, "even into the third and fourth generation" of his unnatural sons, whose issue, but for this crime, would, in all human

probability, have been the most potent princes in India, able single-handed to have stopped Mahratta aggrandisement.

"It was in 1781 (says the bard), Ajit went to heaven. With his own hand did the emperor Mahomed Shah put the *teeka* on the forehead of Abhye Sing, girded him with the sword, bound the *toorah* on his head, placed a dagger set with gems in his girdle, and with Chaoris, Nobuts, and Nakarras, and many valuable gifts, invested the young prince in all the dignities of his father. Even Nagore was resumed from the son of Umra and included in his sunnud. With these marks of royal favour, he took leave of the court, and returned to his paternal dominions. From village to village, as he journeyed homeward, the *kullas* was raised on the head.* When he reached Jodhpur, he distributed gifts to all his chiefs, and to the *Bardais* (bards) and Charuns, and lands to the family priests (*Purohits*).

A day at the court of the desert king, related in the phraseology of the chronicle, would be deemed interesting as a picture of manners. It would also make the reader more familiar with Kurna, the most celebrated bard in the latter days of Rajpoot independence: but this must be reserved for an equally appropriate vehicle, † and we shall at present rest satisfied with a slight sketch of the historian of Maroo.

Karna-Kavya, or simply Kurna, who traced his descent from the last household bard of the last emperor of Canouj, was at once a politician, a warrior, and a scholar, and in each capacity has left ample proofs of his abilities. In the first, he took a distinguished part in all the events of the civil wars; in the second, he was one of the few who survived a combat almost without parallel in the annals even of Rajpoot chivalry; and as a scholar, he has left us, in the introduction to his work,‡ the most instructive proof, not only of his inheriting the poetic mantle of his fathers, but of the course he pursued for the maintenance of its lustre, The bare enumeration of the works he had studied evinces that there was no royal road to

* The *kullas* is a brazen vessel, of household use. A female of each family, filling one of these with water, repairs to the house of the head of the village, when, being all convened, they proceed in a body to meet the person to whom they render honour, singing the *suhailea*, or 'song of joy.' The presenting water is a token of homage and regard, and one which the author has often had paid to him, especially in Mewar, where every village met him in this way.

† I hope some day to present a few of the works of the great bard Chund, with a dissertation on the Bardais, and all the 'sons of song.'

‡ Entitled the 'Surya Prakas' of 7,500 stanzas.

Parnassus for the Rajpoot 'Kaviswar,'* but that, on the contrary, it was beset with difficulties not a little appalling. The mere nomenclature of works on grammar and historical epics, which were to be mastered ere he could hope for fame, must have often made Kurna exclaim, "How hard it is to climb the steeps" on which from afar he viewed her temple. Those who desire to see, under a new aspect, an imperfectly known but interesting family of the human race, will be made acquainted with the qualifications of our bardic historians, and the particular course of studies which fitted Kurna "to sit in the gate† of Jodagir," and add a new book to the chronicles of its kings.

These festivities of a new reign were not of long duration, and were succeeded by warlike preparations against Nagore, which, during the contentions between Ajit and the emperor, had been assigned to the descendant of the ancient princes of Mundore.

"When Ajmeer was invested by the collective force of the empire,‡ Eradut Khan (Bungush), collector of the *Jezeya*,§ took the *Eendo* by the arm, and seated him in Nagore.‖ But as soon as the *Hooli*¶ was past, the 'Avatars of Jowala-mookhi,** were consecrated: goats were sacrificed, and the blood, with oil and vermilion, was sprinkled upon them. The tents were moved out. Hearing this, Rao Indra produced the imperial patent, with the personal guarantee of Jey Sing of Amber. Abhye heeded not, and invested Nagore; but Indra left his honour and his castle to the *Fearless*,†† who bestowed it on Bukhta, his brother. He received the congratulations of

* *Kaviswar*, or *Kavya-iswara*, 'lord of verse' from *Kavya* 'poesy,' and *iswara*, 'lord.'

† The portal of the palace appears to have been the bard's post. Pope gives the same position to his historic bards in 'the Temple of Fame:'

Full in the passage of each spacious gate,
The sage historians in white garments wait;
Grav'd o'er the seats the form of Time was found,
His scythe remov'd, and both his pinions bound.

‡ In the original, "by the *byeesa*," the 'twenty-two,' meaning the collective force of the twenty-two *soobahdars* or 'satraps of the provinces.'

§ Capitation tax.

‖ The poet calls it by its classic appellation, *Nagadoorga*, 'the castle of the serpent.'

¶ For this festival, see Vol. I.

** *Jowala-mookhi*, the 'mouth of flame,' the cannon which are thus consecrated before action. They are called *avatars*, or 'incarnations of Jowala-mookhi, the Etna of India, at the edge of whose crater the Hindu poet very properly places the temple of *Jowali Rani*, 'the terrific' *Kali-ma*, the Hindu Hecate.

†† *A'bhye*, the name of the prince, means 'fearless,' from *bhye*, 'fear,' and privative prefix.

Mewar, Jessulmeer, Bikaneer, and Amber, and returned to his capital amidst the rejoicings of his subjects. This was in S. 1781.

"In S. 1782, he was employed in restraining the turbulent Bhomias on the western frontiers of his dominions; when the Sindils, the Deoras, the Balas, the Boras, the Balechas, and the Sodas were compelled to servitude.

"In S. 1783, a firman of summons arrived, calling the prince to attend the Presence at Delhi. He put it to his head, assembled all his chiefs, and on his passage to court made a tour of his dominions, examining his garrisons, redressing wrongs, and adjusting whatever was in disorder. At Purbutsir he was attacked by the small-pox: the nation called on *Jug Rani** to shield him from evil.

"In 1784, the prince reached Delhi. Khandowran, the chief noble of the empire, was deputed by the emperor to conduct him to the capital; and when he reached the Presence, His Majesty called him close to his person, exclaiming, 'welcome *Khooshbukht*,† *Mahraja Rajeswar*,‡ it is long since we met; this day makes me happy; the splendour of the Aum-khas is redoubled.' When he took leave, the king sent to his quarters, at Abhyepur, choice fruits of the north, fragrant oils, and rose-water."

The prince of Maroo was placed at the head of all the nobility. About the end of S. 1784, Sirbullund Khan's rebellion broke out, which gave ample scope for the valour of the Rahtores and materials for the bard, who thus circumstantially relates it:

"The troubles in the Dekhan increased. The *Shahzada Jungali*§ rebelled, and forming an army of sixty thousand men, attacked the provincial governors of Malwa, Surat and Ahmedpur, slaying the king's lieutenants, Geerdhur Buhadoor, Ibrahim Kooli, Roostum Alli and the Moghul Shujait.

"Hearing this, the king appointed Sirbullund Khan to quash the rebellion. He marched at the head of fifty thousand men, having a crore of rupees for their subsistence; but his advanced army of ten thousand men being defeated in the first

* *Jug-Rani* (I write all these phrases exactly as pronounced in the western dialect), 'Queen of the world.' *Sitla Mata* is the common name for the goddess who presides over the scourge of infancy.

† 'Of happy fortune.'

‡ *Maharaja-Rajeswar*, the pompous title of the kings of Maroo; 'great Raja, lord of Rajas.'

§ In none of the Mohammedan histories of this period is it mentioned, that there was an imperial prince at the head of the first Mahratta irruption; probably he was a mere tool for the purposes of others.

encounter, he entered into terms with the rebels, and agreed to a partition of the country."

It was at this time the prince of Marwar begged permission to retire to his hereditary dominions. The bard's description of the court, and of the emperor's distress on this occasion, though prolix, deserves insertion:

"The king was seated on his throne, attended by the seventy-two grand Omras of the empire, when tidings reached him of the revolt of Sirbullund. There was the Vizier Kumur-oo-din Khan, Itimad-oo-Doulah, Khandowran, commander-in-chief, (Meer Bukshee), Shumsam-oo-Doulah, the Ameer-ool-Omrah, Munsoor Alli, Roshan-oo-Doulah, Toora Baz Khan, the Lord Marcher (*Seem Ka Bukshee*); Roostum Jung, Afghan Khan, Khwaja Syed-oo-din, commandant of artillery (*Meer Atush*); Saadut Khan,* grand chamberlain (*Daroga Khowas*), Boorhan-ool-Moolk, Abdool Summud Khan, Dellil Khan, Zuffiriah Khan, governor of Lahore, Dulail Khan, Meer Jumla, Khankhanan; Zuffar Jung, Eradut Khan, Moorshid Kooli Khan, Jaffier Khan, Aliverdi Khan,† Mozuffer Khan, governor of Ajmeer. Such and many more were assembled in the Presence.

"It was read aloud that Sirbullund had reduced Guzerat, and proclaimed his own *'an,'* that he had ground the Kolis to dust; that he had vanquished the Mandillas, the Jhalas, the Chaurasimas, the Bhagails and the Gohils, and had nearly exterminated the Balas; that Hallar had agreed to pay tribute, and that such was the fire of this Yavan, that the Bhomias of themselves abandoned their strongholds to seek sanctuary with him whom the 'seventeen thousand'‡ now called sovereign; that he had set himself up a king in Ahmedabad, and made a league with the 'Southron.'

"The emperor saw, that if this defection was not quelled, all the viceroys would declare themselves independent. Already had Jugureah Khan in the north, Saadut Khan in the east, and the *Mleteh* Nizam-ool-Moolk in the south, shewn the blackness of their designs. The *tup'h* (verve) of the empire had fled.

"The *beera* was placed on a golden salver, which the Meer Tajuk bore in his extended arms, slowly passing in front of the nobles ranged on either side of the throne, mighty men, at the sight of whose faces the rustic would tremble: but in vain he

* Afterwards Vizier of Oude, a tate founded and maintained by consummate treason.

† Nawab of Bengal, another trator.

‡ This number of cities, towns, and villages constituted the kingdom of Guzerat under its ancient sovereigns.

passed both lines ; no hand was stretched forth ; some looked away ; some trembled ; but none cast an eye upon the *beera*.

"The 'almighty monarch' (*Purmeswar Padshah*), who could make the beggar an Omra of twelve thousand, and the noble of twelve thousand a beggar, was without resource. 'Who,' said one, 'would grasp the forked lightning, let him engage Sirbullund!' Another exclaimed, 'who would seize the vessel, and plunge with her in the whirlpool, he may contend with Sirbullund.' And a third, 'whoever dare seize the forked tongue of the serpent, let him engage Sirbullund.' The king was troubled ; he gave a sign to the Meer Tojuk to return the *beera* to him.

"The Rahtore prince saw the monarch's distress, and as he was about to leave the Aum-khas, he stretched forth his hand and placed the *beera* in his turban, as he said, "be not cast down, Oh! king of the world ; I will pluck down this Sirbullund:* leafless shall be the boughs of his ambition, and his head (*sir*) the forfeit of his arrogant exaltation (*boolund*).'

"When Abhye Sing grasped the *beera*, the breast of the mighty were ready to burst with the fulness of envy, even like the ripe pomegranate, as the king placed the grant of Guzerat in the hands of the Rahtore. The Shah's heart was rejoiced, and said, 'thus acted your ancestors in support of the throne ; as quelled the revolt of Khoorm and Bheem in the time of Jehangir ; that of the Dekhan settled ; and in like manner I trust that, by you the honour and the throne of Mahomed will be upheld.'

Rich gifts, including seven gems of great price, were bestowed upon the Rahtore ; the treasury was unlocked and thirty-one lacks of coin were assigned for the troops. The guns were taken from the arsenals, and with the patent of the vice-royalties of Ahmedabad and Ajmeer, in the month of Asar (1786), Abhye took leave of the king."†

The political arrondissement of Marwar dates from this period ; for the rebellion of Sirbullund was the forerunner of the disintegration of the empire. It was in June A.D. 1730, that the prince of Marwar left the court of Delhi. He had a double motive in proceeding direct to Ajmeer, of which province he was viceroy ; first, to take possession of his stronghold (the key not only of Marwar but of every state in Rajpootana) ; and second, to consult with the prince of Amber on the affairs of that critical conjuncture. What was the cause of

* *Sir*, 'the head' *boolund*, 'exalted, high, arrogant.' I write the name *Sirbullund*, being the orthography long known.

† In the original, the emperor is called the *Aspati*, 'lord of swords,' or perhaps *Aswapati*, 'lord of steeds.'

Jey Sing's presence at Ajmeer the chronicle says not; but from circumstances elsewhere related, it may be conjectured that it was for the purpose of celebrating 'the rites of the *Pitris-wara*' (names of his ancestors) at Pooskur. The bard gives a most prolix account of the meeting, even to the *pugtur*, 'or foot-clothes' spread for "the kings of the Hindoos" to walk on, "who feasted together, and together plotted the destruction of the empire:" from which we perceive that, Kurna, the bard, had a peep behind the curtain.

Having installed his officers in Ajmeer, Abhye Sing proceeded to Mairta, when he was met by his brother, Bukht Sing, on which occasion the grant of Nagore was bestowed upon the latter. The brothers continued their route to the capital, when all the chiefs were dismissed to their homes with injunctions to assemble their vassals for the ensuing campaign against Sirbullund. At the appointed time, the *kher* (feudal array) of Marwar assembled under the walls of Jodhpur. The occasion is a delightful one to the bard, who revels in all 'the pomp and circumstance of war:' from the initiatory ceremony, the moving out the tents, to the consecration of the 'mighty tubes' *(bal-wa-nal,)* the 'volcanos of the field,' or, as he terms them, the 'crocodile-mouths' (*mugurmookhan,*) 'emblems of Y[illegible] which were sprinkled abundantly with the blood of goats under their muzzles. He describes each clan as it [illegible] their steeds and caparisons.

Instead, however, of proceeding direct to the main [illegible] of the war, Abhye Sing took advantage of the immense [illegible] thus placed under his command, as viceroy of Guzerat, [illegible] wreak his own vengeance upon his neighbour, the gallant prince of Sirohi, who, trusting to his native strength, had spurned every compromise which involved his independence. This resolution he maintained by his natural position, strengthened by alliances with the aboriginal races who hemmed his little state on all sides, excepting that towards Marwar.

These *Meenas*, the mountaineers of the Aravulli, had given offence to Abhye Sing; for while the prince, between his arrival at Jodhpur and the assemblage of the *kher*, gave himself up to indolence and opium, they carried off the whole cattle of the train to the mountains. When this was reported to Abhye Sing, he coolly said, "Let them go, they knew we were short of forage, and have only taken them to their own pastures in the mountains." Strange to say, they did return them and in excellent condition, as soon as he prepared to march. When he heard of this, he observed, "Did I not tell you these Meenas were faithful subjects?"

The order to march was now given, when the bard enu-

merates the names and strength of the different Rajpoot princes, whose contingents formed this array, in which there were only two Mohammedan leaders of distinction:—"The Haras of Kotah and Boondi; the Keechies of Gagrown; the Gores of Seopur; the Cuchwahas of Amber, and [even] the Sodas of the desert, under their respective princes or chiefs, were under the command of the Marwar prince. His native retainers, the united clans of Marwar, formed the right wing of the whole army, headed by his brother, Bukhta.

"On the 10th Cheit (Sood) S. 1786, Abhye marched from Jodhpur, by Bhadrajoon and Malgurgh, Sewanoh and Jhalore. Rewarro was assaulted: the swords of the enemy showered, and the Champawut fell amidst heaps of slain. The Deoras abandoned the hill and fled. The trees were levelled to the summit; garrison was posted, and the array moved on to Possalio. Then, Aboo shook with affright. Affliction seized Sirohi; its prince was in despair when he heard Rewarro and Possalio were destroyed.* The Chohan preferred decking his daughter in the bridal vestments, to arraying his army to oppose Abhemal."

Rao Narrain Das, through the intervention of a Rajpoot chieftain, named Myaram, of the Chaora tribe, made overtures to the Rahtore, proposing his niece (daughter of Maun Sing, his predecessor) in marriage. "In the midst of strife 'the cocoanut,' with eight choice steeds and *the price* of four elephants, were sent and accepted. The drum of battle ceased; the nuptials were solemnized, and in the tenth month Ram Sing was born at Jodhpur." The bard, however, lets us into the secret, and shews that the Rajpoots had 'secret articles,' as well as the more polished diplomacy of Europe; for besides the fair Chohani, the Rao consented to pay *Pesh-ach'hani*, a 'concealed tribute.'

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* Both these places are famous in the Mewasso, or fastnesses of Sirohi, and gave the Author, who was intrusted with its political affairs, much trouble. Fortunately for the Deora prince, descendant of Rao Narrain Das, the author knew their history, and was enabled to discriminate the claims which Jodhpur asserted over her in virtue of such attacks as this; in short, between the claims of 'the princes of Marwar,' and the king's lieutenants of Guzerat. In these negotiations wherein Jodhpur advanced its pretensions to *suzerainte* over Sirohi, which as stoutly denied the right, he clearly distinguished the claims of the princes of Jodhpur, in their capacities of viceroys of the empire, and argued that claims conceded by Sirohi in that character guaranteed none to them, in their individual capacity, as chiefs of Marwar a distinction which they affected not to comprehend, but which was at length fully recognized and acted on by the paramount power. Sirohi is maintained in its ancient independence which but for this previous knowledge must have been inevitably lost.

The Deora chiefs united their contingents to the royal army for the subjugation of Sirbullund, and the march recommenced by Palhanpur and Sidpur, on the Sarasvati. Here they halted, and "an envoy was despatched to Sirbullund, summoning him to surrender the imperial equipments, cannons and stores; to account for the revenues, and to withdraw his garrisons from Ahmedabad and all the strongholds of the province." The reply was laconic and dignified; "that he himself was king, and his head was with Ahmedabad."

A grand council of war was convened in the Rajpoot camp, which is described *con amore* by the bard. The overture and its reception were communicated, and the debates and speeches which ensued thereon, as to the future course of proceeding, are detailed. The bard is, however, satisfied with recording the speeches of 'the chiefs of eight grades of Maroo.'

"First spoke the chief of the children of Champa, Koosul, son of Hurnat of Ahwa, whose seat is on the right of the throne. Then Kunneram of Asope, leader of the Koompawuts, whose place is on the left: 'let us, like the Kilkila,* dive into the waters of battle.' He was followed by Kesuri, the Mairtea Sirmor;—then by the veteran who led the Oodawuts: old and brave, many a battle had he seen. Then the chief of Khanwa, who led the clan of Joda, protested he would be the first to claim the immortal garland from the hand of the Apsaras;† 'let us stain our garments with saffron, and our lances with crimson, and play at ball with this Sirbullund.'‡ Futteh the Jaitawut, and Kurnavat Abhi-mal, re-echoed his words. All shouted 'battle!' 'battle!' while some put on the coloured garments, determined to conquer *Bhanloca.* Kurna, the Champawut, said aloud, 'with sparkling cup the Apsaras will serve us in the mansion of the sun.'§ Every clan, every chief, and every bard, re-echoed 'battle!'

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* The *kilkila* is the bird we call the kingfisher.

† The maids of war, the *Valkyris* of Rajpoot mythology.

‡ Another *jou-de-mots* on the name Sirbullund, with whose head *(sir)* the Joda chief proposes to play at ball.

§ The young chieftain of Saloombra, the first of the nobles of Mewar, was sitting with me, attentively listening as I was translating the war against Sirbullund, read by my old tutor. His family possess an hereditary aversion to "the cup," which is under solemn prohibition from some cause which I forget, and so far did his grandfather carry his antipathy, that a drop falling upon him at an entertainment, he cut out the contaminated part with his dagger. Aware of this, I turned round to the young chief and said; "Well, Rawut-ji, would you accept the cup from the hand of the Apsara, or would you refuse the *munwar* (pledge)?" "Certainly I would take it; these are very different cups from ours;" was his reply. "Then you believe that the heavenly fair carry the souls of those who fall in battle to the *Mandal of Surya*?" "Who dare doubt it? When my time comes, I will

"Then Bukhta stood up to claim the onset, to lead the van in battle against Sirbullund, while his brother and prince should await the result in his tents. A jar of saffron-water was placed before the prince, with which he sprinkled each chief, who shouted, 'they would people Umrapur.'"*

The bard then describes the steeds of the Rajpoot chivalry, in which the Beemrathalli of the Dekhan takes precedence; he is followed by the horses of Dhat and Rarduro in Marwar, and the Kattiawar of Saurashtra.

Sirbullund's plans of defence are minutely detailed. At each gate he posted two thousand men and five guns, "manned by Europeans," of whom he had a body of musketeers round his person. The cannonade had been kept up three days on both sides, in which the son of Sirbullund was killed. At length, Bukhta led the storm, when all the *otes* and *awuts* performed prodigies of valour. The Champawut Koosul was the first to be carried to the "immortal abode;" but though "the sun stood still to see the deeds of the son of Hurnat," we cannot particularize the bard's catalogue of heroes transferred to Suraloca† on this day, when the best blood of Rajpootana was shed on the walls of Ahmedabad. Both the princely brothers had their share in "the play of swords," and each slew more than one leader of note. Umra, who had so often defended Ajmeer, slew five chiefs of the grades of two and three thousand horse.

"Eight Ghurries of the day remained, when Sirbullund fled; but Ulyar, the leader of his vanguard, made a desperate resistance, until he fell by the hand of Bukht Sing. The drum of victory sounded. The Nawab left his *pani* in the *Rincoond*‡ The 'would-be-king' was wounded; his elephant shewed the speed of the deer. Four thousand four hundred and ninety-three were slain, of whom one hundred were *Palki Nusheens*, eight *Hati Nusheens*,§ and three hundred entitled to the *Tazeem* on entering the Diwan Aum.‖

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take *that* cup!" a glorious creed for a soldier! He sat for hours listening to my old tutor and friend; for none of their bards expounded like him the *bhojunga* (serpentine verse) of the poet. I have rated the Rawut for being unable to repeat the genealogy of his house from Chonda to himself; but the family bard was dead and left no progeny to inherit his mantle. This youg chief is yet (A. D. 1820) but twenty-two, and promises to be better prepared.

* 'The city of immortality.'

† The abode of heroes, Valhalla of the Rajpoot mythology.

‡ *Rincoond* is the 'fountain of battle,' and *pani* is applied, as we use the word water, to the temper or spirit of a sword: a play on words.

§ Chiefs entitled to ride in palkis and on elephants.

‖ A long list of names is given, which would only fatigue the reader;

"One hundred and twenty chieftains of note, with five hundred horse, were slain with Abhye Sing, and seven hundred wounded.

"The next morning, Sirbullund surrendered with all his effects. He was escorted towards Agra, his wounded Moghuls dying at every stage; but the soul of the 'Fearless' was sad at the loss of his kin.* Abhi-Mal ruled over the seventeen thousand towns of Guzerat, and the nine thousand of Marwar, besides one thousand elsewhere. The princes of Edur, of Bhooj, of Parkur, of Sinde, and of Sirohi, the Chalook Ran of Futtehpur, Jhoojoonoo, Jessulmeer, Nagore, Dongerpur, Bhanswarra, Lunawarra, Hulwad, every morning bowed the head to Abhi-Mal.

"Thus in the enlightened half of the moon, on the victorious tenth† (S. 1787, A. D. 1731), the day on which Ramachundra captured Lanka, the war against Sirbullund, an *Omra* (lord) of twelve thousand, was concluded."‡

Having left a garrison of seventeen thousand men for the duties of the capital and province, Abhye Sing returned to Jodhpur with the spoils of Guzerat, and there he deposited four crores of rupees, and one thousand four hundred guns of all calibres, besides military stores of every description. With these, in the declining state of the empire, the desert king strengthened his forts and garrisons, and determined, in the general scramble for dominion, not to neglect his own interests.

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but amongst them we select a singular one, *Nolakh Khan Angles*, 'Nolakh the Englishman.

* The bard enumerates with the meed of praise each vassal who fell whether Rahtore or of the contingents of the other principalities serving under the prince of Marwar. The Champawuts bore the brunt, and lost Kurrun of Pally, Kishen Sing of Sindri, Gordhan of Jalore, and Kulian. The Koompawuts lost also several leaders of clans, as Nursing, Soortan Sing, Pudma, son of Doorjun. The Joda tribe lost three leaders, *viz.*, Heatmul, Goman, and Jogidas. The brave Mairteas also lost three; Bhom Sing, Koosul Sing, and Golab, son of Hatti. The allodial chieftains, the Jadoons, Sonigurras, the Dhonduls, and Kheechies, had many brave men "carried to Bhanaloca," and even bards and Purohits were amongst the slain.

† *Vijya daswa.*

‡ With this battle the *Raj Roopaca* and *Surya Prakas* terminate.

CHAPTER XI.

Mutual jealousies of the brothers.—Abhye Sing dreads the military fame of Bukhta.—His policy.—Prompted by the bard Kurna, who deserts Jodhpur for Nagore.—Scheme laid by Bukhta to thwart his brother.—Attack of Bikaneer by Abhye Sing.—Singular conduct of his chiefs, who afford supplies to be besieged.—Bukhta's scheme to embroil the Amber Prince with his brother.—His overture and advice to attack Jodhpoor in the absence of his brother.—Jey Sing of Amber.—His reception of his advice, which is discussed and rejected in a full council of the nobles of Amber.—The envoy of Bukhta obtains an audience of the Prince of Amber.—Attains his object.—His insulting letter to Raja Abhye Sing.—The latter's laconic reply.—Jey Sing calls out the Kher, *or feudal army of Amber.—Obtains foreign allies.—One hundred thousand men muster under the walls of his capital.—March to the Marwar frontier.—Abhye Sing raises the siege of Bikaneer.—Bukhta's strange conduct.—Swears his Vassals.—Marches with his personal retainers only to combat the host of Amber.—Battle of Gangaria.—Desperate onset of Bukhta Sing.—Destruction of his band.—With sixty men charges the Amber Prince, who avoids him.—Eulogy of Bukhta by the Amber bards.—Kurna the bard prevents a third charge. Bukhta's distress at the loss of his men.—The Rana mediates a peace.—Bukhta loses his tutelary divinity. Restored by the Amber Prince.—Death of Abhye Sing.—Anecdotes illustrating his character.*

THE tranquillity which for a while followed the Campaign in Guzerat was of no long duration. The love of ease and opium, which increased with the years of Abhye Sing, was disturbed by a perpetual apprehension of the active courage and military genius of his brother, whose appanage of Nagore was too restricted a field for his talents and ambition. Bukhta was also aware that his daring nature, which obtained him the suffrages, as it would the swords, of his turbulent and easily excited countrymen, rendered him an object of distrust, and that without great circumspection, he would be unable to maintain himself in his *imperium in imperio*, the castle and three hundred and sixty townships of Nagore. He was too discreet

to support himself by foreign aid, or by fomenting domestic strife; but with the aid of the bard, he adopted a line of policy, the relation of which will develope new traits in the Rajpoot character, and exemplify its peculiarities. Kurna, after finishing his historical chronicle, concluding with the war against Sirbullund, abandoned "the gate of Jodhpur, for that of Nagore." Like all his tribe, the bard was an adept in intrigue, and his sacred character forwarded the secret means of executing it. His advice was to embroil their common sovereign with the prince of Amber, and an opportunity was not long wanting.

The prince of Bikaneer, a junior but independent branch of Marwar, had offended his yet nominal suzerain Abhye Sing, who, taking advantage of the weakness of their common liege lord the emperor, determined to resent the affront, and accordingly invested Bikaneer, which had sustained a siege of some weeks, when Bukhta determined to make its release subserve his designs; nor could he have chosen a better expedient. Although the prince of Marwar had led his united vassalage against Bikaneer, they were not only lukewarm as to the success of their own arms, but, anomalous as it must appear in the annals even of feudal warfare, they furnished the besieged with the means of defence, who, but for the supplies of opium, salt, and ammunition, would soon have been compelled to surrender. We can account for this: Bikaneer was of their own kin, a branch of the great tree of which Seoji was the root, and to which they could cling in emergency; in short, Bikaneer balanced the power between themselves and their head.

The scheme being approved, its execution and mode of development to Jey Sing were next canvassed. "Touch his pride," said Kurna; "tell him the insult to Amber, which your ancestor invested, has never been balanced, and that he will never find a time like the present to fling a few shot at Jodhpur."

Bukhta addressed a letter to Jey Sing, and at the same time sent instructions to the envoy of Bikaneer at his court how to act.

The prince of Amber, towards the close of his career, became partial to 'the cup'; but, aware of the follies it involved him in, an edict prohibited all official intercourse with him while he was under its influence. The direct overture of Bukhta was canvassed, and all interference between the kindred belligerents was rejected in a full council of the chiefs of Amber. But the envoy had a friend in the famous Vidyadhur,* the chief civil

* Vidyadhur was a Brahmin of Bengal, a scholar and man of science. The plan of the modern city of Amber, named Jeypur, was his: a city as regular as Darmstadt. He was also the joint compiler of the celebrated genealogical tables which appear in the first Volume of this work.

minister of the state, through whose means he obtained permission to make 'a verbal report, standing.' "Bikaneer," he said, "was in peril, and without his aid must fall, and that his master did not consider the sovereign of Marwar, but of Amber, as his suzerain." Vanity and wine did the rest. The prince took up the pen and wrote to Abhye Sing, "That they all formed one great family; to forgive Bikaneer and raise his batteries:" and as he took another cup, and curled his moustache, he gave the letter to be folded. "Maharajah," said the envoy, "put in two more words: 'or, my name is Jey Sing.'" They were added. The overjoyed envoy retired, and in a few minutes the letter was on transit to its destination by the swiftest camel of the desert. Scarcely had the envoy retired, when the chief of Bhansko, the Mentor of Jey Sing, entered. He was told of the letter, which 'would vex his *Sagga*."* The old chief remonstrated; he said, "unless you intend to extinguish the Cuchwahas, recall this letter." Messenger after messenger was sent, but the envoy knew his duty. At the dinner hour, all the chiefs had assembled at the (*Rusora*) banquet-hall, when the spokesman of the vassalage, old Deep Sing, in reply to the communication of his sovereign, told him he had done a cruel and wanton act, and that they must all suffer for his imprudence.

The reply, a laconic defiance, was brought back with like celerity; it was opened and read by Jey Sing to his chiefs: "By what right do you dictate to me, or interfere between me and my servants? If your name is 'the Lion of Victory' (Jey Sing), mine is 'the Lion without Fear' (Abhye Sing)." †

The ancient chief, Deep Sing, said: "I told you how it would be; but there is no retreat, and our business is to collect our friends". The *Khér*, or 'levy *en masse*,' was proclaimed! Every Cuchwaha was commanded to repair to the great standard planted outside the capital. The home-clans came pouring in, and aid was obtained from the Haras of Boondi, the Jadoons of Kerowli, the Seesodias of Shahpoora, the Kheechies, and the Jats, until one hundred thousand men were formed beneath the castle of Amber. This formidable array proceeded, march after march, until they reached Gangwani, a village on the frontier of Marwar. Here they encamped, and, with all due courtesy, awaited the arrival of the 'Fearless Lion.'

They were not long in suspense. Mortally offended at such wanton interference, which compelled him to relinquish his object on the very eve of attainment, Abhye Sing raised

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* *Sagga* is a term denoting a connexion by marriage.

† I write the names as pronounced and as familiar to the readers of Indian history. *Jya*, in Sanskrit, is 'victory,' *Abhya*, 'fearless.'

his batteries from besieging Bikaneer and rapidly advanced to the encounter.

Bukhta now took alarm. He had not calculated the length to which his intrigues would involve his country; he had sought but to embroil the border princes, but had kindled a national warfare. Still his fears were less for the discovery of his plot, than for the honour of Marwar, about to be assailed by such odds. He repaired to his brother and liege lord, and implored him not to raise the siege; declaring that he alone, with the vassals of Nagore, would receive the *Bugtea's** battle, and, by God's blessing, would give a good account of him. Abhye Sing, not averse to see his brother punished for his conduct, though determined to leave him to the brunt of the battle, rejected with scorn the intriguing proposition.

"The *Nukarra* sounded the assembly for the chivalry of Nagore. Bukhta took post on the balcony over the Delhi gate, with two brazen vessels; in the one was an infusion of opium, in the other saffron-water. To each Rajpoot as he entered he presented opium, and made the impress of his right hand on his heart with the saffron-water, Having in this manner enrolled eight thousand Rajpoots, sworn to die with him, he determined to select the most resolute: and marching to the edge of an extensive field of luxuriant Indian corn (*bajra*), he halted his band, and thus addressed them: "Let none follow me who is not prepared for victory or death: if there be any amongst you who desire to return, let them do so in God's name." As he spoke, he resumed the march through the luxuriant fields, that it might not be seen who retired. More than five thousand remained, and with these he moved on to the combat.

The Amber prince awaited them at Gungwani: soon as the hostile lines approached, Bukhta gave the word, and, in one dense mass, his gallant legion charged with lance and sword the deepened lines of Amber, carrying destruction at every pass. He passed through and through this host; but when he pulled up in the rear, only sixty of his band remained round his person. At this moment, the chief of Gujsingpoora, head of all his vassals, hinted there was a jungle in the rear: "and what is there in front," said the intrepid Rahtore, "that we should not try the road we came?" And as he espied the *panchrangu* or five-coloured flag, which denoted the head-quarters of Amber, the word again was given. The cautious Khoombanit advised his prince to avoid the charge: with some difficulty he was made to leave the field, and as a salvo to his

* *Bugtea* is 'a devotee:' the term is here applied reproachfully to Jey Sing, on account of his very religious habits.

† The clan of the Bhansko chief.

honour, by a flank movement towards Kundaila north, that it might not be said he turned his back on his foe. As he retreated, he exclaimed, "seventeen battles have I witnessed, but till this day never one decided by the sword." Thus, after a life of success, the wisest, or at least the most learned and most powerful prince of Rajwarra, incurred the disgrace of leaving the field in the face of a handful of men, strengthening the adage "that one Rahtore equalled ten Cuchwahas."

Jey Sing's own bards could not refrain from awarding the meed of valour to their foes, and composed the following stanzas on the occasion: "Is it the battle cry of Cali, or the war-shout of Hanowanta, or the hissing of Shesnag, or the denunciation of Kapiliswar? Is it the incarnation of Nursing, or the darting beam of Surya? Or the death-glance of the Dakini?* Or that from the central orb of Trinetra?† Who could support the flames from this volcano of steel, when Bukhta's sword became the sickle of Time?"

But for Kurna the bard, one of the few remaining about his person, Bukhta would a third time have plunged into the ranks of the foe; nor was it till the host of Amber had left the field, that he was aware of the extent of his loss.‡ Then, strange inconsistency! the man, who but a few minutes before had affronted death in every shape, when he beheld the paucity of survivors, sat down and wept like an infant. Still it was more the weakness of ambition than humanity; for, never imagining that his brother would fail to support him, he thought destruction had overtaken Marwar; nor was it until his brother joined and assured him he had left him all the honour of the day, that he recovered his port. Then "he curled his whiskers, and swore an oath, that he would yet drag the 'Bhuggut' from his castle of Amber."

Jey Sing, though he paid dear for his message, gained his point, the relief of Bikaneer; and the Rana of Oodipur mediated to prevent the quarrel going further, which was the less difficult since both parties had gained their ends, though Jey Sing obtained his, by the loss of a battle.

It is related that the tutelary deity of Bukht Sing fell into the hands of the Amber prince, who carried home the sole trophy he could boast, married the Rahtore deity to a female divinity of Amber, and returned him with his compliments to Bukhta. Such were the courteous usages of Rajpoot chivalry. The triple alliance of the chief Rajpoot princes followed this

* The witch of India is termed *Dakini*.

† A title of Siva, god of destruction, the 'three-eyed.'

‡ Though the bard does not state, it is to be supposed, that the main body came up and caused this movement.

battle, cemented by the union of the rival houses to daughters of Mewar. There they met, attended by their vassalage, and, in the nuptial festivities and the 'cup,' forgot this bitter strife, while enmity and even national jealousy were banished by general courtesy. Such is the Rajpoot, who can be judged after no known standard; he stands alone in the moral history of man.*

This is the last conspicuous act of Abhye Sing's life on record. He died in S. 1806 (A. D. 1750) at Jodhpur. His courage, which may be termed ferocious, was tempered only by his excessive indolence, regarding which they have preserved many amusing anecdotes; one of these will display the exact character of the man. The chronicle says: "When Ajit went to marry the Chohani, he found two lions in his path—the one asleep, the other awake. The interpretation of the *sooguni* (augur) was, that the Chohani would bear him two sons; that one would be a *sooti khan* (sluggard), the other an active soldier." Could the augur have revealed that they would imbrue their hands in a father's blood, he might have averted the ruin of his country, which dates from this black deed.

The Rahtores profess a great contempt for the Cuchwahas as soldiers; and Abhye Sing's was not lessened for their prince, because he happened to be father-in-law to the prince of Amber, whom he used to mortify, even in the "Presence," with such sarcasm as, "You are called a Cuchwa, or properly *Cuswa* from the *Cusa*; and your sword will cut as deep as one of its blades:" alluding to the grass thus called. Irritated, yet fearing to reply, he formed a plan to humble his arrogance in his only vulnerable point, the depreciation of his personal strength. While it was the boast of Jey Sing to mingle the exact sciences of Europe with the more ancient of India, Abhye's ambition was to be deemed the first swordsman of Rajwarra. The scientific prince of Amber gave his cue to Kriparam, the paymaster-general, a favourite with the king, from his skill at chess, and who had often the honour of playing with him while all the nobles were standing. Kriparam praised the Rahtore prince's dexterity in smiting off a buffalo's head; on which the king called out, "Rajeswar, I have heard much of your skill with the sword."—"Yes, Huzrit, I can use it on an occasion." A huge animal was brought into the area, fed in the luxuriant pastures of Heriana. The court crowded out to see the Rahtore exhibit; but when he beheld the enormous

* This singular piece of Rajpoot history, in the annals of Marwar, is confirmed by every particular in the "one hundred and nine acts" of the Great Jey Sing of Amber. The foe does ample justice to Rahtore valour.

bulk, he turned to the king and begged permission to retire to his post, the imperial guard-room to refresh himself. Taking a double dose of opium, he returned, his eyes glaring with rage at the trick played upon him, and as he approached the buffalo they fell upon Jey Sing, who had procured this monster with a view to foil him. The Amber chief saw that mischief was brewing, and whispered His Majesty not to approach too near his son-in-law. Grasping his sword in both hands, Abhye gave the blow with such force that the buffalo's head "dropped upon his knees," and the Raja was thrown upon his back. All was well, but, as the chronicle says, "the king never asked the Raja to decollate another buffalo."

It was during the reign of Abhye Sing, that Nadir Shah invaded India; but the summons to the Rajpoot princes, to put forth their strength in support of the tottering throne of Timoor, was received with indifference. Not a chief of note led his myrmidons to the plains of Kurnal; and Delhi was invested, plundered, and its monarch dethroned, without exciting a sigh. Such was their apathy in the cause, when the imbecility of Mahommed Shah succeeded to the inheritance of Arungzeb, that with their own hands these puppets of despotism sapped the foundations of the empire.

Unfortunately for Rajpootana, the demoralization of her princes prevented their turning to advantage this depression of the empire, in which follies and crimes they participated.

With the foul and monstrous murder of the Raja Ajit (A. D. 1750) commenced those bloody scenes which disgrace the annals of Marwar; yet even in the history of her crimes there are acts of redeeming virtue, which raise a sentiment of regret that the lustre of the one should be tarnished by the presence of the other. They serve, however, to illustrate that great moral truth, that in every stage of civilization, crime will work out its own punishment; and grievously has the parricidal murder of Ajit been visited on his race and country. We shall see it acting as a blight on that magnificent tree, which, transplanted from the native soil of the Ganges, took root and flourished amidst the arid sands of the desert, affording a goodly shade for a daring race, who acquired fresh victories with poverty—we shall see its luxuriance checked, and its numerous and widely-spread branches, as if scorched by the lightnings of heaven, wither and decay; and they must utterly perish, unless a scion, from the uncontaminated stem of Edur,* be grafted upon it: then it may revive, and be yet made to yield more vigorous fruit.

* The Heir of Edur is heir presumptive to the *godi* of Marwar.

CHAPTER XII.

Ram Sing succeeds.—His impetuosity of temper.—His uncle Bukhta Sing, absents himself from the rite of inauguration —Sends his nurse as proxy.—Construed by Ram Sing as an insult.—He resents it, and resumes the fief of Jhalore.—Confidant of Ram Sing.—The latter insults the chief of the Champawuts, who withdraws from the court.—His interview with the chief bard.—Joins Bukhta Sing.—The chief bard gives his suffrage to Bukhta.—Civil war.—Battle of Mairta. —Ram Sing defeated.—Bukht Sing assumes the sovereignty.—The Bagri chieftain girds him with the sword.—Fidelity of the Purohit to the ex-prince, Ram Sing.—He proceeds to the Dekhan to obtain aid of the Mahrattas.—Poetical correspondence between Raja Bukhta and the Purohit. —Qualities mental and pesonal of Bukhta.—The Mahrattas threaten Marwar.—All the clans unite round Bukhta.—He advances to give battle.—Refused by the Mahrattas.—He takes post at the pass of Ajmeer.—Poisoned by the queen of Amber.—Bukhta's character.—Reflection on the Rajpoot character.—Contrasted with that of the European nobles in the dark ages.—Judgment of the bards on crimes.—Improvised stanza on the princes of Jodhpur and Amber.—Anathema of the Sati, *wife of Ajit,—Its fulfilment.—Opinions of the Rajpoot of such inspiartions.*

RAM SING succeeded at that dangerous age, when parental control is most required to restrain the turbulence of passion. Exactly twenty years had elapsed since the nuptials at Sirohi, when Hymen extinguished the torch of discord, and his mother was the bearer of the olive branch to Abhye Sing, to save her house from destruction. The Rajpoot, who attaches everything to pedigree, has a right to lay an interdict on the union of the race of *Agni*,* with the already too fiery blood of the Rahtore. Ram Sing inherited the arrogance of his father, with all the impetuosity of the Chohans; and the exhibition of these qualities was simultaneous with his coronation. We are not told why his uncle, Bukht Sing, absented himself from the ceremony of his prince's and nephew's installation, when the

* The Deora of Sirohi is a branch of the Chohans, one of the four *Agniculas*, a race sprung from *fire*. See Vol. I.

whole kin and clans of Maroo assembled to ratify their allegiance by their presence. As the first in blood and rank, it was his duty to make the first mark of inauguration on the forehead of his prince. The proxy he chose on the occasion was his *dhae*, or 'nurse,' a personage of no small importance in those countries. Whether by such a representative the haughty warrior meant to insinuate that his nephew should yet be in leading strings, the chronicle affords us no hint; but it reprehends Ram Sing's conduct to this venerable personage, whom, instead of treating, according to usage, with the same respect as his mother, he asked, "if his uncle took him for an ape, that he sent an old hag to present, him with the *teeka*?" and instantly despatched an express desiring the surrender of Jhalore. Ere his passion had time to cool, he commanded his tents to be moved out, that he might chastise the insult to his dignity. Despising the sober wisdom of the counsellors of the state, he had given his confidence to one of the lowest grade of these hereditary officers, by name Umiah, the *nakarchi*,* a man headstrong like himself. The old chief of the Champawuts, on hearing of this act of madness, repaired to the castle to remonstrate; but scarcely had he taken his seat before the prince assailed him with ridicule, desiring "to see his frightful face as seldom as possible." "Young man," exclaimed the indignant chief, as with violence he dashed his shield reversed upon the carpet, "you have given mortal offence to a Rahtore, who can turn Marwar upside down as easily as that shield." With eyes darting defiance, he arose and left the Presence, and collecting his retainers, marched to *Moondhiavar*. This was the residence of the *Pat-Bardai*, or 'chief bard,' the lineal descendant of the *Barud* Roera, who left Canouj with Seoji. The esteem in which his sacred office was held may be appreciated by his estate, which equalled that of the first noble, being one lack of rupees, (£10,000) of revenue.

The politic Bukhta, hearing of the advance of the chief noble of Maroo on the border of his territory, left Nagore, and though it was midnight, advanced to welcome him. The old chief was asleep; Bukhta forbade his being disturbed, and placed himself quietly beside his pallet. As he opened his eyes, he called as usual for his pipe (*hooka*), when the attendant pointing to the prince, the old chief scrambled up. Sleep had cooled his rage, and the full force of his position rushed upon him; but seeing there was now no retreat, that the Rubicon was crossed. "Well, there is my head," said he;

* The person who summons the nobles by beat of the state *nakarra*, or 'great kettle-drum.'

"now it is yours." The bard, who was present at the interview, was sounded by being requested to bring the chief's wife and family from Ahwa to Nagore; and he gave his assent in a manner characteristic of his profession; "farewell to the gate of Jodhpur," alluding to the station of the bard. The prince immediately replied, "there was no difference between the gate of Jodhpur and Nagore; and that while he had a cake of *bajra* he would divide it with the bard."

Ram Sing did not allow his uncle much time to collect a force; and the first encounter was at Kheyrlie. Six actions rapidly followed; the last was at Loonawas, on the plains of Mairta, with immense loss of life on both sides. This sanguinary battle has been already related,* in which Ram Sing was defeated, and forced to seek safety in flight; when Jodhpur was surrendered, and Bukhta invested with the *Rajtilac* and sword by the hands of the Jaitawut chief of Bagri, whose descendants continue to enjoy this distinction, with the title of *Murwar ca bar Kewar*, 'the bar to the portal of Marwar.'

With the possession of the seat of government, and the support of a great majority of the clans, Bukht Sing felt secure against all attempts of his nephew to regain his lost power. But although his popularity with his warlike kindred secured their suffrages for his maintenance of the throne which the sword had gained him, there were other opinions which Bukht Sing was too politic to overlook. The adhesion of the hereditary officers of the state, especially those personal to the sovereign, is requisite to cloak the crime of usurpation, in which light only, whatever the extent of provocation, Bukhta's conduct could be regarded. The military premier, as well as the higher civil authorities, were won to his cause, and of those whose sacred office might seem to sanctify the crime, the chief bard had already changed his post "for the gate of Nagore." But there was one faithful servant, who, in the general defection, overlooked the follies of his prince, in his adherence to the abstract rules of fidelity; and who, while his master found refuge at Jeypur, repaired to the Dekhan to obtain the aid of the Mahrattas, the mercenaries of Rajpootana. Jaggo was the name of this person; his office, that of *Purohit*, the ghostly adviser of his prince and tutor to his children. Bukhta, at once desirous to obtain his suffrage, and to arrest the calamity of foreign invasion, sent a couplet in his own hand to the Purohit:

"The flower, Oh bee, whose aroma regaled you, has been

* See Vol. I.

assailed by the blast; not a leaf of the rose-tree is left; why longer cling to the thorns?"

The reply was in character: "In this hope does the bee cling to the denuded rose-tree that, spring may return, and fresh flowers bud forth."*

Bukhta, to his honour, approved the fidelity which rejected his overtures.

There was a joyousness of soul about Bukhta which, united to an intrepidity and a liberality alike unbounded, made him the very model of a Rajpoot. To these qualifications were superadded a majestic mien and Herculean frame, with a mind versed in all the literature of his country, besides poetic talent of no mean order; and but for that one damning crime, he would have been handed down to posterity as one of the noblest princes Rajwarra ever knew. These qualities not only rivetted the attachment of the household clans, but secured the respect of all his exterior relations, so that when the envoy of the expatriated prince obtained Sindia's aid for the restoration of Ram Sing, the popularity of Bukhta formed an army which appalled the "Southron," who found arrayed against him all the choice swords of Rajwarra. The whole allodial power of the desert, "the sons of Seoji" of every rank, rose to oppose this first attempt of the Mahrattas to interfere in their national quarrels, and led by Bukhta in person, advanced to meet Madaji, the *Patél*. But the Mahratta, whose object was plunder rather than glory, satisfied that he had little chance of either, refused to measure his lance (*birchi*) with the *sang* and *sirohi* † of the Rajpoot.

Poison effected what the sword could not accomplish. Bukhta determined to remain encamped in that vulnerable point of access to his dominions, the passes near Ajmere. Hither, the Rahtore queen of Madhu Sing, prince of Amber, repaired to compliment her relative, and to her was entrusted the task of removing the enemy of her nephew, Ram Sing. The mode in which the deed was effected, as well as the last moments of the heroic but criminal Bukhta, have been already related.‡ He died in S. 1809 (A. D. 1753), leaving a disputed

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* The beautiful simile of Ossian, or of Macpherson, borrowed from the canticles of the Royal Bard of Jerusalem, will be brought to mind in the reply of the Purohit—'I was a lovely tree in thy presence, Oscar, with all my branches around me;' &c.

† *Sang* is a lance about ten feet long, covered with plates of iron about four feet above the spike. The *sirohi* is the sword made at the city, whence its name, and famous for its temper

‡ See Vol. I.

succession, and all the horrors of impending civil strife, to his son, Beejy Sing.

During his three years of sovereignty, Bukhta had found both time and resources to strengthen and embellish the strongholds of Marwar. He completed the fortifications of the capital, and greatly added to the palace of Joda, from the spoils of Ahmedabad. He retaliated the injuries on the intolerant Islamite, and threw down his shrines and his mosques in his own fief of Nagore, and with the wrecks restored the edifices of ancient days. It was Bukhta also who prohibited, under pain of death, the Islamite's call to prayer throughout his dominions, and the order remains to this day unrevoked in Marwar. Had he been spared a few years to direct the storm then accumulating, which transferred power from the haughty Tatar of Delhi to the peasant soldier of the Kistna, the probability was eminently in favour of the Rajpoots resuming their ancient rights throughout India. Every principality had the same motive for union in one common cause, the destruction of a power inimical to their welfare: but crimes, moral and political, rendered an opportunity, such as never occurred in their history, unavailing for their emancipation from temporal and spiritual oppression.

We will here pause, and anticipating the just horror of the reader at finding crime follow crime—one murder punished by another—prevent his consigning all the Rajpoot dynasties to infamy, because such foul stains appear in one part of their annals. Let him cast his eyes over the page of western history; and commencing with the period of Seoji's emigration in the eleventh century, when the curtain of darkness was withdrawn from Europe, as it was simultaneously closing upon the Rajpoot, contrast their respective moral characteristics. The Rajpoot chieftain was imbued with all the kindred virtues of the western cavalier, and far his superior in mental attainments. There is no period on record when these Hindu princes could not have signed their names to a charter; many of them could have drawn it up, and even invested it, if required, in a poetic garb; and although this consideration perhaps enhances, rather than palliates crime, what are the instances in these states, we may ask, compared to the wholesale atrocities of the 'Middle Ages' of Europe?

The reader would also be wrong if he leaped to the conclusion, that the bardic chronicler passed no judgment on the princely criminal. His "empoisoned stanzas" (*visiva sloca*), transmitted to posterity by the mouth of the peasant and the prince, attest the reverse. One couplet has been recorded, stigmatizing Bukhta for the murder of his father; there is

another of the chief bard, *improvised*, while his prince Abhye Sing, and Jey Sing of Amber, were passing the period devoted to religious rites at the sacred lake of Pooshkur. The ceremonies never stood in the way of festivity; and one evening, while these princes and their vassals were in the height of merriment, the bard was desired to contribute to it by some extemporaneous effusion. He rose, and vociferated in the ears of the horror-struck assembly the following quatrain:

"*Jodhpur, our Ambér.*
"*Doono tháp oot'háp;*
"*Koorma márá deekro,*
"*Kamd'huj márá báp.*"

"[The princes of] Jodhpur and Amber can dethrone the enthroned. But the Koorma* slew his son; the Kamd'huj† murdered his father."

The words of the poetic seer sank into the minds of his hearers, and passed from mouth to mouth. They were probably the severest vengeance either prince experienced in this world, and will continue to circulate down to the latest posterity. It was the effusion of the same undaunted Kurna, who led the charge with his prince against the troops of Amber.

We have also the anathema of the prophetic *Sati*, wife of Ajit, who, as she mounted the pyre with her murdered lord, pronounced that terrific sentence to the ears of the patriotic Rajpoot: "May the bones of the murderer be consumed out of Maroo!"‡ In the value they attach to the fulfilment of the prophecy, we have a commentary on the supernatural power attached to these self-devoted victims. The record of the last moments of Bukhta in the dialogue with his doctor, § is a scene of the highest dramatic and moral interest; and, if further comment were required, demonstrates the operations of the hell within, as well as the abhorrence the Rajpoot entertains for such crimes.

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* *Koorma* or *Cuchwa* (the tribe of the princes of Amber), slew his son, Seo Sing.

† *Kamd'huj*, it must be remembered, is a titular appellation of the Rahtore kings, which they brought from Canouj.

‡ See Vol. I.

§ See Vol. I.

CHAPTER XIII.

Accession of Beejy Sing.—Receives at Mairta the homage of his Chiefs.—Proceeds to the capital.—The ex-prince Ram Sing forms a treaty with the Mahrattas and the Cuchwahas.—Junction of the Confederates.—Beejy Sing assembles the Clans on the plains of Mairta.—Summoned to surrender the gadi.*—His reply.—Battle.—Beejy Sing defeated.—Destruction of the Rahtore Cuirassiers.—Ruse de querre.—Beejy Sing left alone.—His flight.—Eulogies of the Bard.—Fortresses surrender to Ram Sing.—Assassination of the Mahratta commander.—Compensation for the murder.—Ajmeer surrendered.—Tribute or* Chouth *established.—Mahrattas abandon the cause of Ram Sing.—Couplet commemorative of this event.—Cenotaph to Jey Appa.—Ram Sing dies.—His character.—Anarchy reigns in Marwar.—The Rahtore oligarchy.—Laws of adoption in the case of Pokurn fief.—Insolence of its Chief to his Prince, who entertains mercenaries.—The innovation accelerates the decay of feudal principles.—The Raja plans the diminution of the Aristocracy.—The Nobles confederate.—Gordhan Kheechie.—His advice to the Prince.—Humiliating treaty between the Raja and his vassals.—Mercenaries disbanded.—Death of the Prince's* guru *or priest.—His prophetic words.—*Kerea-karma *or funeral rites, made expedient to entrap the chiefs, who are condemned to death.—Intrepid conduct of Devi Sing of Pokurn.—His last words.—Reflections on their defective system of government.—Sacrifice of the law of primogeniture.—Its consequence.—Subhul Sing arms to avenge his father's death.—Is slain.—Power of the nobles checked.—They are led against the robbers of the desert.—Amerkote seized from Sinde.—Godwar taken from Mewar.—Marwar and Jeypoor unite against the Mahrattas, who are defeated at Tonga.—De Boigne's first appearance.—Ajmeer recovered by the Rahtores.—Battles of Patun and Mairta.—Ajmeer surrenders.—Suicide of the governor.—Beejy Sing's concubine adopts Maun Sing.—Her insolence alienates the Nobles, who plan the deposal of the Raja.—Murder of the concubine.—Beejy Sing dies.*

BEEJY SING, then in his twentieth year, succeeded his father, Bukhta. His accession was acknowledged not only by the Emperor, but by all the princes around him, and he was inaugurated at the frontier town of Marote, when proceeding

to Mairta, where he passed the period of *matum* or mourning. Hither the independent branches of his family, of Bikaneer, Kishengurh, and Koopnagurh, came simultaneously with their condolence and congratulations. Thence he advanced to the capital, and concluded the rites on death and accession with gifts and charities which gratified all expectations.

The death of his uncle afforded the ex-prince, Ram Sing, the chance of redeeming his birthright; and in conjunction with the prince of Amber, he concluded a treaty* with the Mahrattas, the stipulations of which were sworn to by their leaders. The 'Southrons' advanced by Kotah and Jeypur, where Ram Sing, with his personal adherents and a strong auxiliary band of Amber, united their forces, and they proceeded to the object in view, the dethronement of Beejy Sing.

Beejy Sing was prepared for the storm, and led his native chivalry to the plains of Mairta, where, animated with one impulse, a determination to repel foreign interference, they awaited the Mahrattas, to decide the rival claims to the throne of the desert. The bard delights to enumerate the clans who mustered all their strength, and make particular allusion to the allodial *Pattawuts*, who were foremost on this occasion. From Pooshkur where the combined army halted, a summons was sent to Beejy Sing "to surrender the *gadi* of Maroo." It was read in full convention and answered with shouts of "Battle! Battle!" "Who is this Happa,† thus to scare us, when, were the firmament to fall, our heads would be pillars of support to preserve you?" Such is the hyperbole of the Rajpoot when excited, nor does his action fall far short of it. The numerical odds were immense against the Rahtores; but they little esteemed the Cuchwahas, and their courage had very different aliment to sustain it, from the mercenary Southron. The encounter was of the most desperate description, and the bard deals out a full measure of justice to all.

Two accidents occurred during the battle, each sufficient to turn victory from the standard of Beejy Sing, on the very point of fruition. One has elsewhere been related,‡ namely, the destruction of the "Sillehposhias," or cuirassiers, the chosen cohort of the Rahtores, when returning from a successful charge, who were mistaken for the foe, and mowed down

* This treaty is termed *huldi, or bul-patra*, 'a strong deed.' The names of the chiefs who signed it were Jankoji Sindia, Malji, Tantia Cheetoo, Raghu Pagia, Ghosulia Jadoon, Moolla Yar Alli, Feeroz Khan; all great leaders amongst the 'Southrons' of that day.

† The *A*, to the Rajpoot of the north-west, is as great a Shibboleth as to the Cockney:—thus *Appa* becomes *Happa*.

‡ See Vol. I.

with discharges of grape-shot. This error, at a moment when the courage of the Mahrattas was wavering, might have been retrieved, notwithstanding the superstitious converted the disaster into an omen of evil. Sindia had actually prepared to quit the field, when another turn of the wheel decided the event in his favour: the circumstance exhibits forcibly the versatile character of the Rajpoot.

The Raja of Kishengurh had deprived his relative of Roopnagurh of his estates, both were junior branches of Marwar, but held direct from the emperor. Sawunt Sing, chieftain of Roopnagurh, either from constitutional indifference of old age, retired to the sanctuary of Vindrabun on the Jumna, and, before the shrine of the Hindu Apollo, poured forth his gratitude for 'his escape from Hell," in the loss of his little kingdom. But it was in vain the attempted to inspire young Sirdar with the like contempt of mundane glory; to his exhortations the youth replied, "It is well for you, Sire,* who have enjoyed life, to reign its sweets so tranquilly; but I am yet a stranger to them." Taking advantage of the times, he determined to seek a stronger auxiliary for the recovery of his rights than the poetic homilies of Jydeva. Accordingly, he joined the envoy of Ram Sing, and returned with Maharatta army, on whose successful operations his hope of reconquering his patrimony rested. It was at that moment of doubt, that Appa, the Mahratta commander, thus addressed young Sirdar: "Your star, young man, is united to Ram Sing's, which fortune does not favour; what more is to be done before we move off?" Inexperienced as he was, Sirdar knew his countrymen and their vacillation when touched by superstition; and he obtained permission to try a *ruse*, as a last resort. He despatched a horseman of his own clan to the division which pressed them most, who, coming up to the Mainote minister, as if of his own party, asked "what they were fighting for, as Beejy Sing lay dead, killed by a cannonshot in another part of the field?" Like the ephemeral tribe of diplomacy, the Mainote saw his sun was set. He left the field, followed by the panic-struck clans, amongst whom the report circulated like wild-fire. Though accustomed to these stratagems, with which their annals teem, the Rajpoots are never on their guard against them; not a man inquired into the truth of the report, and Beejy Sing,—who, deeming himself in the very career of victory, was coolly performing his devotions amidst the clash of swords,—was left almost alone, even without attendants or horses. The lord of Marwar, who, on that morning, commanded the lives

* *Baup-ji.*

one hundred thousand Rajpoots, was indebted for his safety the mean conveyance of a cart and pair of oxen.*

Every clan had to erect tablets for the loss of their best rriors ; and as in their civil wars each strove to be foremost devotion, most of the chieftains of note were amongst the in.† The bard metes out a fair measure of justice to their xiliaries, especially the Suktawuts of Mewar, whose swords re unsheathed in the cause of the son-in-law of their prince, or is the lance of the Southron passed over without eulogy, praise which, indeed, is to extol themselves.

With the loss of this battle and the dispersion of the ahtores, the strongholds rapidly fell. The cause of Ram Sing as triumphing, and the Mahrattas were spreading over the nd of Maroo, when foul assassination checked their progress. t the death of Jey Appa, which converted his hordes from xiliaries to principals in the contest, called aloud for vengeance. at was only to be appeased by the cession of Ajmeer d a fixed triennial tribute on all the lands of Maroo, both udal and fiscal. This arrangement being made, the Mahttas displayed the virtue common to such mercenary allies. ey abandoned Ram Sing to his 'evil star,' and took possession this stronghold, which, placed in the very heart of Rajasthan rpetuated their influence over its princes.

With this gem, thus rudely torn from her diadem, the dependence of Marwar from that hour has been insecure. e has struggled on, indeed, through a century of invasion, bellions, and crimes, all originating, like the blank leaf in nals, from the murder of Ajit. In the words of the Dinza of the hostile bards on this memorable chastisement :

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* The anecdote is related in Vol. I. The *Beejy Vulas* states that nce rewarded the peasant with five hundred Bighas of land in perpeh his descendants enjoy, saddled with the *petite serjanteri* rds and bajra cakes," in remembrance of the fare the Jat provided prince on that emergency.

† Rae Sing, chief of the Koompawuts, the second noble in rank war ; Lall Sing, head of the Seesawuts, with the leader of the s, are especially singled out as sealing their fidelity with their b all the *otes owuts* of the country came in for a share of glory.

‡ This occurrence has been related in the Personal Narrative, it is more amply narrated in the chronicle, the *Beejy Vulas* h I am now compiling. In this it is said that Jey Appa, during e, having fallen sick, the Rahtore prince sent his own physician, o attend him ; that the doctor at first refused the mission may tell me to poison him, and I will not obey ;" "On the con is prince, " let your skill cure in two days what would take y shall favour you ;" but what was far more strange, Appa objec e medicines of the *Bed* and recovered.

"*Eád ghunna' dín áosi*
"*Háppá wálá hél*
"*Bha'ga' tín-ó bú-pati*
"*Ma'l kaza'na' mél.*"

"For many a day will they remember the time (*hél*) of App
when the three sovereigns fled, abandoning their goods ar
treasures:" alluding to the princes of Marwar, Bikaneer, ar
Kishengurh, who partook in the disasters and disgrace of th
day.

The youthful heir of Roopnagurh claimed, as he justly migl
he victory to himself; and going up to Appa to congratula
im, said, in the metaphorical language of his country, "Y
e I sowed mustard-seed in my hand as I stood:" compari
e prompt success of his stratagem to the rapid vegetation
e seed. But Sirdar was a young man of no ordinary promis
r when Sindia, in gratitude, offered immediately to put him
ssession of Roopnagurh, he answered, "No; that would be
trograde movement," and told him to act for his master, Ra
ng, "whose success would best insure his own." But whe
achery had done its worst on Jey Appa, suspicion, which fe
every Rajpoot in the Mahratta camp, spared not Sirda
rds were drawn in every quarter, and even the messengers
ce, the envoys, were everywhere assailed, and amongst tho
fell ere the tumult could be appeased, was Rawut Kobe
g, the premier noble of Mewar, then ambassador from t
a with the Mahrattas.* With his last breath, Jey Ap
ected and exonerated Sirdar, and enjoined that his pled
storation to his patrimony should be redeemed. The bo
his distinguished commander was burned at the *Taos-sir*,
cock pool,' where a cenotaph was erected, and in the c
h the descendants even of his enemies pay to it, we have
f the merits of both victor and vanquished.

This was the last of twenty-two battles, in which Ram S
prodigal of his life for the recovery of his honours.
sity of his later days had softened the asperity of
er, and made his early faults be forgotten, though too
is benefit. He died in exile at Jeypur, in A. D. 17
erson was gigantic; his demeanour affable and courteo
e was generous to a fault. His understanding was excell
ell cultivated, but his capricious temperament, to wh
ve vent with an unbridled vehemence, disgusted the h

* I have many original autograph letters of this distinguished Ra
transactions of this period; for it was he who negotiated the
Raja Madhu Sing, of Jeypur, the 'nephew of Mewar,' an
as. At this time, his object was to induce Jey Appa to rais
Nagore.

minded nobles of Maroo, and involved him in exile and misery till his death. It is universally admitted that, both in exterior and accomplishments, not even the great Ajit could compare with Ram Sing, and witchcraft, at the instigation of the chieftain of Asope, is assigned to account for his fits of insanity, which might be better attributed to the early and immoderate use of opium But in spite of his errors, the fearless courage he displayed, against all odds, kept some of the most valient of the clans constant to his fortunes, especially the brave Mairteas, under the heroic Shere Sing of Reah, whose deeds can never be obliterated from the recollections of the Rahtore. Not the least ardent of his adherents was the allodial chief Roop Sing, of the almost forgotten clan, Pattawut; who held out in Filodi against all attempts, and who, when provisions failed, with his noble associates, slew and ate their camels. The theme is a favourite one for the *Kamrea* minstrel of Maroo, who sings the fidelity of Roopa and his band to the notes of his *rhehab*, to their ever attentive descendants.

We may sum up the character of Ram Sing in the words of the bard, as he contrasts him with his rival. "Fortune never attended the stirrup of Beejy Sing, who never gained a battle, though at the head of a hundred thousand men; but Ram Sing, by his valour and conduct, gained victories with a handful."

The death of Ram Sing was no panacea to the griefs of Marwar or of its prince. The Mahrattas, who had now obtained a *point-d'appui* in Rajwarra, continued to foster disputes which tended to their advantage, or when opportunity offered, to scour the country in search of pay or plunder. Beejy Sing, young and inexperienced, was left without resources; ruinous wars and yet more ruinous negotiations had dissipated the hoards of wealth accumulated by his predecessors. The crown-lands were uncultivated, the tenantry dispersed; and commerce had diminished, owing to insecurity and the licentious habits of the nobles, who everywhere established their own imposts, and occasionally despoiled entire caravans. While the competitor for the throne was yet living, the Raja was compelled to shut his eyes on these inroads upon his proper power, which reduced him to insignificance even in his own palace.

The aristocracy in Marwar has always possessed more power than in any of the sister principalities around. The cause may be traced to their first settlement in the desert; and it has been kept in action by the peculiarities of their condition, especially in that protracted struggle for the rights of the minor Ajit, against the despotism of the empire. There was another cause, which, at the present juncture, had a very unfortunate

influence on the increase of this preponderance, and which arose out of the laws of adoption.

The fief of Pokurn, the most powerful (although a junior) branch of the Champawut clan, adopted a son of Raja Ajit as their chief; his name was Devi Sing. The right of adoption, as has been already explained, rests with the widow of the deceased and the elders of the clan. Why they exercised it as they did on this occasion does not appear; but not improbably at the suggestion of the dying chief, who wished to see his sovereign's large family provided for, having no sons of his own: or, the immediate claimants may not have possessed the qualities necessary to lead a clan of Maroo. Although the moment such adoption takes place, when "the turban of the late incumbent encircled the new lord of Pokurn," he ought to forget he had any other father than him he succeeded, yet we can easily imagine that, in the present case, his propinquity to the throne, which under other circumstances he might soon have forgotten, was continually forced upon his recollection by the contentions of his parricidal brothers and their offspring for the 'cushion' of Marwar. It exemplifies another feature in Rajpoot institutions, which cut off this son (guiltless of all participation in the treason) from succession, because he was identified with the feudality; while the issue of another, and junior brother, at the same period adopted into the independent house of Edur,* were heirs presumptive to Marwar: nay, must supply it with a ruler on failure of heirs, though they should have but one son and be compelled to adopt in his room.†

The Champawuts determined to maintain their influence over the sovereign and the country; and Devi Sing leagued with Ahwa and the other branches of this clan to the exclusion of all competitors. They formed of their own body a guard of honour for the person of the prince, one-half remaining on duty in the castle, the other half being in the town below. While the Raja would lament the distracted state of his country, the inroads of the Hill tribes, and the depredations of his own chiefs, Devi Sing of Pokurn would reply, "why trouble yourself about Marwar? it is in the sheath of my dagger." The young prince used to unburthen his griefs to his foster-brother Jaggo, a man of caution and experience, which qualities he instilled into his sovereign. By dissimulation, and an apparent acquiescence in their plans, he not only eluded suspicion, but, availing himself of their natural indolence of character, at length obtained leave

* It will be remembered that Edur was conquered by a brother of Seoji's.

† We shall explain this by a cutting of the genealogical tree: it may be found useful, should we be called on to arbitrate in these matters.

not only to entertain some men of Sinde as guards for the town, but to provide supplies for their subsistence: the first approximation towards a standing mercenary force, till then unknown in their annals. We do not mean that the Rajpoot princes never employed any other than their own feudal clans; they had foreign Rajpoots in their pay, but still on the same tenure, holding lands for service; but never till this period had they soldiers entertained on monthly stipend. These hired bands were entirely composed of infantry, having a slight knowledge of European tactics, the superiority of which, even over their high-minded cavaliers, they had so severely experienced in their encounters with their Mahrattas. The same causes had operated on the courts of Oodipur and Jeypur to induce them to adopt the like expedient; to which, more than to the universal demoralization which followed the breaking up of the empire, may be attributed the rapid decay of feudal principles throughout Rajpootana. These guards were composed either of Poorbea * Rajpoots, Sindies, Arabs, or Rohillas. They received their orders direct from the prince, through the civil officers of the state, by whom they were entrusted with the execution of all duties of importance or despatch. Thus they soon formed a complete barrier between the prince and his vassals, and consequently became objects of jealousy and of strife. In like manner did all the other states make approaches towards a standing army; and though the motive in all cases was the same to curb, or even to extinguish, the strength of the feudal chiefs, it has failed throughout, except in the salitary instance of Kotah, where twenty well-disciplined battalions, and a hundred pieces of artillery, are maintained chiefly from the feudal sequestrations.

To return: the Dhabhae, having thus secured a band of seven hundred men, and obtained an aid (which we may term *scutage*) from the chiefs for their maintenance, gradually transferred them from their duties above to the gates of the castle. Somewhat released from the thraldom of faction, the Raja concerted with his foster-brother and the Dewan, Futteh Chund, the means of restoring prosperity and order. So destitute was the prince of resources, that the Dhabhae had recourse to threats of suicide to obtain 50,000 rupees from his mother, acquired as the nurse (*dhai*) of his sovereign; and so drained was the country of horses, that he was compelled to transport his cavaliers (who were too proud to walk) on cars to Nagore. There, under the pretence of curbing the Hill tribes, he formed an army, and dismounting the guns from the walls of the town,

* *Poorbeas*, 'men of the east,' as the *Mugrabies* are 'of the west.'

marched an ill-equipped force against the border-mountaineers, and being successful, he attacked on his return the castle of Seel-Bukri. This was deemed a sufficient indication of his views; the whole feudality of Maroo took alarm, and united for mutual safety at Birsilpur, twenty miles east of the capital.

There was a foreign Rajpoot, whose valour, fidelity and conduct had excited the notice and regard of Bukht Sing, who, in his dying hour, recommended him to the service of his son. To Gordhun, the Keechie, a name of no small note in the subsequent history of this reign, did the young Raja apply in order to restrain his chiefs from revolt. In the true spirit of Rajpoot sentiment, he advised his prince to confide in their honour, and, unattended, to seek and remonstrate with them, while he went before to secure him a good reception. At day-break, Gordhun was in the camp of the confederates; he told them that their prince, confiding in their loyalty, was advancing to join them, and besought them to march out to receive him. Deaf, however, to entreaty and to remonstrance, not a man would stir, and the prince reached the camp uninvited and unwelcomed. Decision and confidence are essential in all transactions with a Rajpoot. Gordhun remained not a moment in deliberation, but instantly carried his master direct to the tent of the Ahwa chief, the premier noble of Marwar. Here the whole body congregated, and silence was broken by the prince, who demanded why his chief had abandoned him.

"Mahraja," replied the Champawut, "our bodies have but one pinnacle: were there a second, it should be at your disposal." A tedious discussion ensued; doubts of the future, recriminations respecting the past; till wearied and exhausted, the prince demanded to know the conditions on which they would return to their allegiance, when the following articles were submitted:

1st. To break up the force of the Dhabhae;

2nd. To surrender to their keeping the records of fiefs (*puttá-buhye*);

3rd. That the court should be transferred from the citadel to the town.

There was no alternative but the renewal of civil strife or compliance; and the first article, was a *sine quá non*, the disbanding of the obnoxious guards, that anomalous appendage to a Rajpoot prince's person, was carried into immediate execution. Neither in the first nor last stipulation could the prince feel surprise or displeasure; but the second sapped the very foundation of his rule, by depriving the crown of its dearest prerogative, the power of dispensing favour. This shallow reconciliation being effected, the malcontent nobles dispersed,

some to their estates, and the Chondawut oligarchy to the capital with their prince, in the hope of resuming their former influence over him and the country.

Thus things remained, when Atmaram, the *guru* or 'ghostly comforter,' of Beejy Sing, fell sick, and as he sedulously attended him, the dying priest would tell him to be of good cheer, for when he departed, he "would take all his troubles with him." He soon died, and his words, which were deemed prophetic, were interpreted by the Dhabhae. The Raja feigned immoderate grief for the loss of his spiritual friend, and in order to testify his veneration, an ordinance was issued commanding that the *krea-carma*, or 'rites for the dead,' should be performed in the castle, while the queens, on pretence of paying their last duty to his remains, descended, carrying with them the guards and retainers as their escort. It was an occasion on which suspicion, even if awake, could not act, and the chiefs ascended to join in the funeral rites to the saint. As they mounted the steps cut out of the rock which wound round the hill of Joda, the mind of Devi Sing suddenly misgave him, and he exclaimed, that "the day was unlucky;" but it passed off with the flattering remark, "you are the pillar of Maroo; who dare even look at you!" They paced slowly through the various barriers, until they reached the *alarum gate.** It was shut! "Treachery!" exclaimed the chief of Ahwa, as he drew his sword, and the work of death commenced. Several were slain; the rest were overpowered. Their captivity was a sufficient presage of their fate; but, like true Rajpoots, when the *Dhabhae* told them they were to die, their last request was, "that their souls might be set at liberty by the sword, not by the unsanctified ball of the mercenary." The chronicle does not say whether this wish was gratified, when the three great leaders of the Champawuts, with Jaet Sing of Ahwa; Devi Sing of Pokurn; the lord of Hursola; Chuttur Sing, chief of the Koompawuts; Kesuri Sing of Chandrain; the heir of Neemaj; and the chief of Raus, then the principal fief of the Oodawuts, met their fate. The last hour of Devi Sing was marked with a distinguished peculiarity. Being of the royal line of Maroo, they would not spill his blood, but sent him his death-warrant in a jar of opium. On receiving it, and his prince's command to make his own departure from life, "What!" said the noble spirit, as they presented the jar, "shall Devi Sing take his *umul* (opiate) out of an earthen vessel? Let his gold cup be brought, and it shall be welcome." This last vain distinction

* The *nakarra durwaza*, where the grand kettle-drum is stationed, to give the alarm or summons to the chieftains to repair to the Presence. To this gate Raja Maun advanced to meet the Author, then the representative of the Governor-General of India.

being denied, he dashed out his brains against the walls of his Before he thus enfranchised his proud spirit, some un- s mind, repeating his own vaunt, damanded, where was the sheath of the dagger which held the fortunes of Marwar?" "In Subbula's girdle at Pokurna," was the laconic reply of the undaunted Chondawut.

This was a tremendous sacrifice for the maintenance of authority, of men who had often emptied their veins in defence of their country. But even ultra-patriotism, when opposed to foreign aggression, can prove no palliative to treason or mitigate its award, when, availing themselves of the diminished power of the prince, an arrogant and imperious oligarchy presumes to enthral their sovereign. It is the mode in which vengeance was executed, at which the mind recoils, and which with other instances appears to justify the imputation of perfidy, amongst the traits of Rajpoot character. But if we look deeply in to it, we shall find reason to distrust such conclusion. The Rajpoot abhors, in the abstract, both perfidy and treason; but the elements of the society in which he lives and acts, unfortunately too often prompt the necessity of sacrificing principles to preservation: but this proceeds from their faulty political constitution; it is neither inclucated in their moral code, nor congenial to their moral habits.

The perpetual struggle between the aristocracy and the sovereign, which is an evil inherent in all feudal associations, was greatly aggravated in Marwar, as well as in Mewar, by the sacrifice of that corner-stone even of constitutional monarchy, the rights of primogeniture. But in such case the deviation from custom was a voluntary sacrifice of the respective heirs-apparent to the caprices of parental dotage. In no other country in the world could that article of the Christian decalogue, "Honour thy father and thy mother," be better illustrated than in Rajpootana, where, if we have had to record two horried examples of deviation from, we have also exhibited splendid proofs of filial devotion, in Chonda of Mewar, and Chamba of Marwar, who resigned the "rods" they were born to wield; and served, when they should have swayed, to gratify their fathers' love for the fruit of their old age. These are instances of self-denial hardly to be credited; from such disinterested acts, their successors claimed an importance which, though natural, was totally unforeseen, and which the extent of compensation contributed to foster. They asserted the right, as heriditary premiers of the state, to be the advisers, or rather the tutors, of their sovereigns, more especially in non-age; and in allusion to this surrender of their birth-right, arrogantly applied the well-known adage, *Pat ca malik myn ho, Raj ca*

malik ooa, 'He is sovereign of the state, but I am the master of the Throne,' and insisted on the privilege of being consulted on every gift of land, and putting their autograph symbol to the deed or grant.* These pretensions demanded the constant exertions of the sovereign to resist them; for this purpose, he excited the rivalry of the less powerful members of the federated vassalage, and thus formed a kind of balance of power, which the monarch, if skilful, could always turn to account. But not even the jealousies thus introduced would have so depreciated the regal influence in Marwar, nor even the more recent adoption of a son of the crown into the powerful fief of Pokurna, had not the parricidal sons of Ajit degraded the throne in the eyes of their haughty and always over-reaching vassals, who, in the civil strife which followed, were alternately in favour or disgrace, as they adhered to or opposed the successful claimant for power. To this foul blot every evil which has since overtaken this high-minded race may be traced, as well as the extirpation of that principle of devoted obedience, which in the anterior portion of these annals, as been so signally recorded. To this hour it has perpetuated dissensions between the crown and the oligarchy, leading to deposal and violence to the princes, or sequestration, banishment, and death to the nobles. To break the bonds of this vassalage, Ram Sing's intemperance lost him the crown, which sat uneasy on the head of his successor, who had no other mode of escape but by the severity which has been related. But though it freed him for a time, the words of the dying chief of Pokurna continued to ring in his ears; and "the dagger left in the girdle of his son" disturbed the dreams of his rest throughout a long life of vicissitudes, poisoning the source of enjoyment until death itself was a relief.

The nuncupatory testament of the Champawut was transmitted across the desert to his son at Pokurna, and the rapidity of its transmission was only equalled by the alacrity of Subbula, who at the head of his vassals issued forth to execute the vengeance thus bequeathed. First, he attempted to burn and pillage the mercantile town of Pally;—foiled in which, he proceeded to another wealthy city fisc, Bilwarra on the Looni; but here terminated both his life and his revenge. As he led the escalade, he received two balls, which hurled him back amongst his kinsmen, and his ashes next morning blanched the sandy bed of the Looni.

For a time, the feudal interest was restrained, anarchy was allayed, commerce again flourished, and general prosperity

* See Vol. I.

revived: to use the words of the chronicle, "the subject enjoyed tranquillity, and the tiger and the lamb drank from the same fountain." Beejy Sing took the best means to secure the fidelity of his chiefs, by finding them occupation. He carried his arms against the desultory hordes of the desert, the Khosas and Sahraes, which involved him in contests with the nominal sovereign of Sinde, and ended in the conquest of Amerkote, the key to the valley of the Indus, and which is now the most remote possession of Marwar. He also curtailed the territories of Jessulmeer, on his north-west frontier. But more important than all was the addition of the rich province of Godwar, from the Rana of Mewar. This tract, which nearly equals in value the whole fiscal domain of Maroo, was wrested from the ancient princes of Mundore, prior to the Rahtores, and had been in the possession of the Seesodias for nearly five centuries, when civil dissension rule the Rana place it for security under the protection of Raj Beejy Sing; since which it has been lost to Mewar.

Marwar had enjoyed several years of peace, when the rapid strides made by the Marattas towards universal rapine, if not conquest, compelled the Rajpoots once more to form an union for the defence of their political existence. Pertap Sing, a prince of energy and enterprize, was now on the *gadi* of Amber In S. 1843 (A. D. 1787), he sent an ambassador to Beejy Sing, proposing a league against the common foe, and volunteering to lead in person their conjoined forces against them. The battle of Tonga ensued, in which Rahtore valour shone forth in all its glory. Despising discipline, they charged through the dense battalions of De Boigne, sabring his artillery-men at their guns, and compelling Sindia to abandon not only the field, but all his conquests for a time.* Beejy Sing, by this victory, redeemed the castle of Ajmeer, and declared his tributary alliance null and void. But the genius of Sindia, and the talents of De Boigne, soon recovered this loss; and in four years the Mahratta marched with a force such as Indian warfare was stranger to, to redeem that day's disgrace. In S. 1847 (A. D. 1791), the murderous battles of Patun and Mairta took place, in which Rajpoot courage was heroically but fruitlessly displayed against European tactics and unlimited resources, and where neither intrigue nor treason was wanting. The result was the imposition of a contribution of sixty lacks of rupees, or £600,000; and as so much could not be drained from the country, goods and chattels were everywhere distrained, and hostages given for the balance.

* See Vol. I for the details of this battle.

Ajmeer, which had revolted on the short-lived triumph of Tonga, was once more surrendered, and lost for ever to Marwar. When invested by De Boigne, the faithful governor, Dumraj, placed in the dilemma of a disgraceful surrender, on disobedience to his prince's summons, swallowed diamond-powder. "Tell the Raja," said this faithful servant, "thus only could I testify my obedience; and over my dead body alone could a Southron enter Ajmeer."*

The paramount influence which the morals and manners of a court exert upon a nation, is everywhere admitted. In constitutional governments, there is a barrier even to court influence and corruption, in the vast portion of wealth and worth which cannot be engulfed in their vortex. But in these petty sovereignties, no such check is found, and the tone of virtue and action is given from the throne. The laws of semi-barbarous nations, which admit of licentious concubinage, has ever been peculiar to orientals, from the days of the wise king of the Jews to those of Beejy Sing of Marwar; and their political consequence has been the same, the sacrifice of the rights of lawful inheritance to the heirs of illicit affection. The last years of the king of Maroc were engrossed by sentimental folly with a young beauty of the *Oswal* tribe, on whom he lavished all the honours due only to his legitimate queens. Scandal affirms that she frequently returned his passion in a manner little becoming royal dignity, driving him from her presence with the basest of missiles—her shoes. As the effects of this unworthy attachment completed the anarchy of Marwar, and as its consequences on deviating from the established rules of succession have entailed a perpetuity of crime and civil war, under which this unfortunate state yet writhes, we shall be minute, even to dullness, in the elucidation of this portion of their annals, to enable those who have now to arbitrate this differences to bring back a current of uncontaminated blood to sway the destinies of this still noble race.

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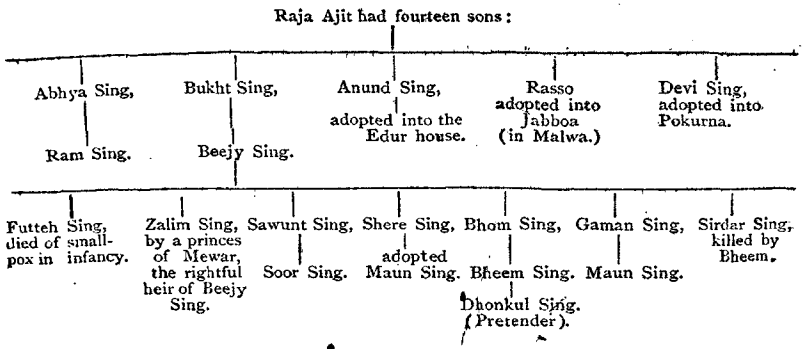
* Dumraj was not a Rajpoot, but of the *Singwi* tribe, one of the civil officers; though it is a curious and little-known fact, that almost all the mercantile tribes of Western India are of Rajpoot origin, and sank the name and profession of arms when they became proselytes to *Jainism*, in the reign of Raja Bheem Pramar. The Cheetore inscription (see Vol. I.) records the name of this prince. He was ancestor of Raja Maun whose date S. 770 (A. D. 714), allows us to place this grand conversion prior to A. D. 650.



So infatuated was Beejy Sing with the *Pásbáni* concubine, that on losing the only pledge of their amours, he 'put into her lap,' (adopted) his own legitimate grandchild, Maun Sing. To legalize this adoption, the chieftains were ordained to present their *nuzzurs* and congratulations to the declared heir of Marwar; but the haughty noblesse refused 'to acknowledge the son of a slave' as their lord, and the Raja was compelled to a fresh adoption to ensure such token of sanction. Content at having by this method succeeded in her wishes, the *Pásbáni* sent off young Maun to the castle of Jhalore; but fearing lest the experience of Shere Sing, his adopted father, might prove a hindrance to her control, he was recalled, and her own creatures left to guide the future sovereign of Marwar. The dotage of Beejy Sing, and the insolence of his concubine, produced fresh discord, and the clans assembled at Malkasuni to concert his deposal.

Recollecting the success of his former measures to recall them to their duty, Beejy Sing proceeded to their camp; but while he was negotiating, and as he supposed successfully, the confederates wrote to the chieftain of Raus, whose tour of duty was in the castle, to descend with Bheem Sing. The chief acquainted the *Pásbáni* that her presence was required at the camp by the Raja, and that a guard-of-honour was ready to attend her. She was thrown off her guard, and at the moment she entered her litter, a blow from an unseen hand ended her existence. Her effects were instantly confiscated, and the chief of Raus descended with Bheem, whose tents were pitched at the Nagore barrier of the city. If, instead of encamping there, they had proceeded to the camp of the confederates, his arrival and the dethronement of Beejy Sing would have been simultaneous: but the Raja received the intelligence as soon as the chiefs. Hastening back, he obtained the person of the young aspirant, to whom, to reconcile him to his

disappointment, he gave in appanage the districts of Sojut and Sewanoh, and sent him off to the latter stronghold; while to restrain the resentment of his eldest son, Zalim Sing, whose birthright he had so unworthily sacrificed, he enfeoffed him with the rich district of Godwar, giving him private orders to attack his brother Bheem, who, though apprised of the design in time to make head against his uncle, was yet defeated and compelled to fly. He found refuge at Pokurna, whence he went to Jessulmeer.

In the midst of this conflict, his dominions curtailed, his chiefs in rebellion, his sons and grandsons mutually opposed to each other, and the only object which attached him to life thus violently torn from him, Beejy Sing died, in the month of Asar S. 1850, after a reign of thirty-one years.

CHAPTER XIV.

Raja Bheem seizes upon the gadi.—*Discomfiture of his competitor, Zalim Sing.—Bheem destroys all the other claimants to succession, excepting Maun Sing.—Blockaded in Jhalore.—Sallies from the garrison for supplies.—Prince Maun heads one of them.—Incurs the risk of capture.—Is preserved by the Ahore chief.—Raja Bheem offends his nobles.—They abandon Marwar.—The fief of Neemaj attacked.—Jhalore reduced to the point of surrender.—Sudden and critical death of Raja Bheem.—Its probable cause.—The Vedyas or 'cunning-men,' who surround the prince.—Accession of Raja Maun.—Rebellion of Sowae Sing of Pokurn.—Conspiracy of Champasuni.—Declaration of the pregnancy of a queen of Raja Bheem.—Convention with Raja Maun.—Posthumous births.—Their evil consequences in Rajwarra.—A child born.—Sent off by stealth to Pokurn, and its birth kept a secret.—Named Dhonkul.—Raja Maun evinces indiscreet partialities.—Alienates the Champawuts.—Birth of the posthumous son of Raja Bheem promulgated.—The chiefs call on Raja Bheem promulgated.—The chiefs call on Raja Maun to fulfil the terms of the convention.—The mother disclaims the child.—The Pokurn chief sends the infant Dhonkul to the sanctuary of Abhye Sing of Khetri.—Sowae opens his underplot.—Embroils Raja Maun with the courts of Amber and Mewar.—He carries the pretender Dhonkul to Jeypur.—Acknowledged and*

proclaimed as Raja of Marwar.—The Majority of the chiefs support the pretender.—The Bikaneer prince espouses his cause.—Armies called in the field.—Baseness of Holcar, who deserts Raja Maun.—The armies approach.—Raja Maun's chiefs abandon him.—He attempts suicide.—Is persuaded to fly.—He gains Jodhpur.—Prepares for defence.—Becomes suspicious of all his kin.—Refuses them the honour of defending the castle.—They join the allies, who invest Jodhpur.—The city taken and plundered.—Distress of the besiegers.—Meer Khan's conduct causes a division.—His flight from Marwar.—Pursued by the Jeypur commander.—Battle.—Jeypur force destroyed, and the city invested.—Dismay of the Raja.—Breaks up the siege of Jodhpur.—Pays £200,000 for a safe passage to Jeypur.—The spoils of Jodhpur intercepted by the Rahtores, and wrested from the Cuchwahas.—Meer Khan formally accepts service with Raja Maun, and repairs to Jodhpur with the four Rahtore chiefs.

THE intelligence of Beejy Sing's death was conveyed by express to his grandson Bheem, at Jessulmeer. In "twenty-two hours" he was at Jodhpur, and ascending directly to the citadel, seated himself upon the *gadi*, while his rival, Zalim Sing, the rightful heir, little expecting this celerity, was encamped at the Mairta gate, awaiting the "lucky hour" to take possession. That hour never arrived; and the first intelligence of Bheem being on "the cushion of Joda," was conveyed to the inhabitants by the *nakarras* of his rival on his retreat from the city, who was pursued to Bhilara, attacked, defeated, and forced to seek shelter at Oodipur, where, with an ample domain from the Rana, he passed the rest of his days in literary pursuits. He died in the prime of life: attempting to open a vein with his own hand, he cut an artery and bled to death. He was a man of great personal and mental qualifications; a gallant soldier, and a no mean poet.*

Thus far successful, Raja Bheem determined to dismiss "compunctious visitings," and be a king *de facto* if not *de jure*. Death had carried off three of his uncles, as well as his father, previous to this event; but there were still two others, Shere Sing, his adopted father, and Sirdar Sing, who stood in his way: the last was put to death; the former had his eyes put out; and, soon after, the unfortunate prince released himself from

* My own venerable tutor, Yati Gyanchandra, who was with me for ten years, said he owed all his knowledge, especially his skill in reciting poetry (in which he surpassed all the bards at Oodipur), to Zalim Sing.

life by dashing out his brains. Soor Sing, the favourite of all Beejy Sing's descendants, remained. His superior claims were fatal to him and his life fell a sacrifice with the others.

A single claimant alone remained of all the blood royal of Maroo to disturb the repose of Bheem. This was young Maun, the adopted son of the concubine, placed beyond his reach within the walls of Jhalore. Could Bheem's dagger have reached him, he would have stood alone, the last surviving scion of the parricide.

"With none to bless him,
"None whom he could bless:"

an instrument, in the hand of divine power, to rid the land of an accursed stock. Then the issue of Abhye Sing would have utterly perished, and their ashes might have been given to the winds, and no memorial of them left. Edur must then have supplied an heir,* and the doubtful pretensions of Dhonkul,† the posthumous and reputed son of the wholesale assassin Bheem, to sit upon the *gadi* of Ajit, would never have been brought forward to excite another murderous contest amongst the sons of Joda.

Having sacrificed all those within his reach who stood between him and the throne, Bheem tried to secure the last sole claimant in Jhalore. But the siege of such a stronghold

* Amongst the numerous autograph correspondence of the princes of Rajpootana with the princes of Mewar, of which I had the free use, I selected one letter of S. 1784, A. D. 1728, written conjointly by Jey Sing of Amber and Abhye Sing of Jodhpur, regarding Edur, and which is so curious, that I gave a *verbatim* translation in the Appendix (No. I.) I little thought at the time how completely it would prove Abhye Sing's determination to cut off all but his own parricidal issue from the succession. An inspection of the genealogy will shew that Anund Sing of Edur, who was not to be allowed "to escape alive," was his younger brother, adopted into that house.

† Dhonkul Sing, the posthumous issue of Bheem, the last of the parricidal line, whether real or supposititious, must be set aside, and the pure current of Rahtore blood, derived from Seoji, Joda, Jeswunt, and Ajit, be brought from Edur and installed on "the gadi of Joda." This course of proceeding would meet universal approbation, with the exception of some selfish miscreants about the person of this pretended son of Bheem, or the chieftain of Pokurn, in furtherance of his and his grandfather's yet unavenged feud. A sketch of the events, drawn from their own chronicles, and accompanied by reflections, exposing the miseries springing from an act of turpitude, would come home to all, and they would shower blessings on the power which, while it fulfilled the duties of protector destroyed the germ of internal dissension, and gave them a prince of their own pure blood, whom all parties could honour and obey. If a doubt remained of the probable unanimity of such policy, let it be previously submitted to a *punchaet*, composed of the princes of the land, *viz.*, of Mewar, Amber, Kotah, Bhondi, Jessulmeer, &c., leaving out whichever may be influenced by marriage connexions with Dhonkul Sing.

with his feudal levies, or loose mercenary bands, was a tedious operation, and soon became an imperfect blockade, through which young Maun not unfrequently broke, and by signal formed a junction with his adherents, and plundered the fiscal lands for support. One of these excursions, however, an attempt to plunder Palli, had nearly proved fatal to him; they were attacked on their return, and young Maun, whose secluded education had confined him more to mental than to personal accomplishments, was unhorsed, and would have been captured, but for the prowess of the chief of Ahore, who took him up behind him and bore him off in safety. Nothing but the turbulence of the chiefs who supported Raja Bheem saved young Maun's life. A disputed succession has always produced an odious faction; and Bheem, who was not disposed to bend to this oligarchy, appears to have had all the imprudence of the dethroned Ram Sing: he threatened those entrusted with the siege to give them "oxen to ride instead of horses." The chiefs fired at the insult, and retired to Ganorah, the principal fief in Godwar; but disgusted with both parties, instead of obeying the invitation of young Maun, they abandoned their country altogether, and sought an asylum in the neighbouring states. Many fiefs were sequestrated, and Neemaj, the chief seat of the Oodawuts, was attacked, and after a twelve months' defence, taken; its battlements were ignominiously destroyed, and the victors, chiefly foreign mercenaries, reinforced the blockade of Jhalore.

With the exile of his partisans and daily diminishing resources, when the lower town was taken, there appeared no hope for young Maun. A small supply of millet-flour was all the provision left to his half-famished garrison, whose surrender was now calculated upon, when an invitation came from the hostile commander for Maun to repair to his camp, and adding "*he* was now the master; it was *his* duty to serve." On that day (the 2nd Kartik S. 1860, Dec. 1804), after eleven years of defence, his means exhausted, his friends banished, and death from starvation or the sword inevitable, intelligence came of Raja Bheem's demise! This event, as unlooked-for as it was welcome, could scarcely at first be credited; and the tender of the homage of the commander to Maun as his sovereign, though accompanied by a letter from the prime minister Induraj, was disregarded till the *guru* Deonath returned from the camp with confirmation of the happy news, that "not a moustache was to be seen in the camp."* Thither

* This mark of mourning is common to all India. Where this evidence of manhood is not yet visible, the hair is cut off; often both.

the prince repaired, and was hailed [illegible] the head of the Rahtores.

It is said that the successor of *guru* Atmaram, "who carried all the t[illegible] of Beejy Sing w[illegible]im to heaven," had predicted of your[illegible] Sing, when at the very zero of adversity, that "his fortunes would ascend." What were the means whereby the ghostly comforter of Raja B[illegible]m influenced his political barometer, we know not; but prophetic *gurus*, bards, astrologers, physicians, and all the *Véddys* or 'cunningmen,'* who beset the persons of princes, prove dangerous companions when, in addition to the office of compounders of drugs and expounders of dreams they are invested with the power of realizing their own prognostications.

On the 5th of Megsir, 1860 (A. D. 1804), Raja Maun, released from his perils, succeeded to the honours and the feuds of Beejy Sing. He had occupied the 'cushion of Maroo' but a very short period, when the Pokurna chief "took offence," and put himself in hostility to his sovereign. The name of this proud vassal, the first in power though only of secondary rank amongst the Champawuts, was Sowae Sing, with whom now remained "the sheath of the dagger which held the fortunes of Maroo." If the fulfilment of vengeance be a virtue, Sowae was the most virtuous son on earth. The dagger of Devi Sing [illegible]eathed to Subbula, was no imaginary weapon in the han[illegible] grandson Sowae, who held it suspended over the [illegible] Raja Maun from his enthronement to his death-hour. [illegible] after Raja Maun's accession, Sowae retired with his partizans to Champasuni, a spot about five miles from the capital, where the conspiracy was prepared. He told the chiefs that the wife of Raja Bheem was pregnant, and prevailed on them to sign a declaration, that if a son was born, he should be installed on the *gadi* of Joda. They returned in a body to the capital, took the pregnant queen from the castle, and placed her in a palace in the city, under their own protection. Moreover, they held a council, at which the Raja was present, who agreed to recognize the infant, if a male, as the heir-apparent of Maroo, and to enfeoff him in the appanage of Nagore and Sewanoh; and that if a female, she should be betrothed to a prince of Dhoondar.

Posthumous births are never-failing germs of discord in these states; and the issue is inevitably branded by one party with the title of 'supposititious.' It is likewise a common saying, almost amounting to a proverb, that a male child is the uniform

* *Vedya*, or 'science:' the term is also used to denote cunning, magic or knowledge of whatever kind.

result of such a position. In due course, a male infant was born; but, alarmed for its safety, the mother concealed both its birth and sex, and placing it in a basket, conveyed it by a faithful servant from the city, whence it soon reached Sowae Sing at Pokurn. He bestowed upon it the inauspicious name of 'Dhonkul,' that is, one born to tumult and strife. It is said that, during two years he kept the birth a profound secret, and it is even added, that it might have remained so, had Raja Maun forgot the history of the past, and dispensed even-handed justice. Wanting, however, the magnanimity of the Fourth Henry of France, who scorned "to revenge the wrongs of the Prince of Navarre," he reserved his favours and confidence for those who supported him in Jhalore, whilst he evinced his dislike to others who, in obedience to their sovereign, served against him. Of these adherents, only two chiefs of note were of his kin and clan; the others were Bhatti Rajpoots and a body of those religious militants called *Bishenswamis*, under their Mehunt, or leader, Kaimdas.*

At the expiration of two years, Sowae communicated the event to the chiefs of his party, who called upon Raja Maun to redeem his promise and issue the grant for Nagore and Sewanoh. He promised compliance if, upon investigation, the infant proved to be the legitimate offspring of his predecessor. Personal fear overcame maternal affection, and the queen, who remained at Jodhpur, disclaimed the child. The reply being communicated to the chiefs, it was for a time inclusive, and the subject ceased to interest them, the more especially as her concealed *accouchement* had never been properly accounted for.

Though Sowae, with his party, apparently acquiesced, his determination was taken; but instead of an immediate appeal to arms, he adopted a deeper scheme of policy, the effects of which he could not have contemplated, and which involved his own destruction, and with it the independence of his country, which was transferred to strangers, their very antipodes in manners, religion, and every moral quality. His first act was to procure a more powerful protection than Pokurn afforded; and under the guarantee of Chutter Sing Bhatti, he was sent to

* They follow the doctrines of Vishnu (Bishen). They are termed *gosens*, as well as the more numerous class of church militants devoted to Siva. Both are *celibataires*, as *gosen* imports from a mastery (*sen*) over the sense (*go*). They occasionally come in contact, when their sectarian principles end in furious combats. At the celebrated place of pilgrimage, Heridwar (Hurdwar), on the Ganges, we are obliged to have soldiers to keep the peace, since a battle occurred, in which they fought almost to extirpation, about 20 years ago. They are the *Templars* or Rajast'han.

the *s'rna* (sanctuary) of Abbye Sing of Khetri.* Having so far succeeded, he contrived an underplot, in which his genius for intrigue appears not below his reputation as a soldier.

The late prince Bheem had made overtures to the Rana of Mewar for the hand of his daughter, but he died befor the preliminaries were adjusted. This simple circumstance was deemed sufficient by the Champawut for the ground-work of his plot. He contrived to induce the voluptuous Juggu Sing, the prince of Jeypur, to put himself in the place of Raja Bheem, and to propose for the fair hand of Kishna. This being accomplished, and nuptial presents, under a guard of four thousand men, being despatched to Oodipur, intimated to Raja Maun that he would be eternally disgraced if he allowed the prince of Amber to carry off "the bride that "it was to the throne of Maroo, not its [illegible] was promised." The bait was greedily swallowed, and Sumra, chief for the *kheir* (or *levy en masse*) of the Rahtores was immediately proclaimed. Maun instantly assembled three thousand horse and joining to them the mercenary bands of Heera Sing, the [illegible] on the frontier of Mewar, he intercepted the nuptial gift of Amber. Indignant at this outrage Juggut Sing took to arms, and the muster-book was declared open to all who would serve in the war which was formally declared against Maroo.

Having thus opened the drama, Sowae threw off the mask and repaired to Khetri, whence he conveyed the pretender Dhonkul, to the court of Juggut Sing at Jeypur. Here his legitimacy was established by being admitted 'to eat from the same platter' with its prince; and his claims, as the heir of Marwar, were publicly acknowledged and advocated, by his 'placing him in the lap of his aunt,' one of the wives of the deceased Raja Bheem. His cause thus espoused, and being declared the nephew of Amber, the nobles of Marwar, who deemed the claims of the pretender superior to those of Raja Maun, speedily collected around his standard. Amongst these was the prince of Bikaneer, whose example (he being the most powerful of the independents of this house) at once sanctioned the justice of Dhonkul's cause, and left that of Raja Maun almost without support, Nevertheless with the hereditary valour of his race, he advanced to the frontiers to meet his foes, whose numbers, led by the Jeypur prince and the pretender, exceeded one hundred thousand men! This contest, the ostensible object of which was the princess of Mewar, like the crusades of ancient chivalry, brought allies from the most remote parts of India. Even the cautious Mahratta felt an

* One of the principal chiefs of the Shekhawut confederation.

unusual impulse in this rivalry, beyond the stimulants of pay and plunder which ordinarily rouse him, and corps after corps left their hordes to support either cause. The weightier purse of Jeypur was the best argument for the justice of his cause and that of the pretender; while Raja Maun had only the gratitude of Holcar to reckon upon for aid, to whose wife and family he had given sanctuary when pursued by Lord Lake to the Attoc. But here Sowae again foiled him; and the Mahratta, then only eighteen miles from Maun, and who had promised to join him next day, made a sudden movement to the south. A bribe of £100,000 in bills upon Kotah, to be [illegible] Holcar's reaching that city, effected this desertion before the [illegible] secured, Jeggut Sing and the pretender advanced to overwhelm their [illegible] who was posted at Geerwa. [illegible] armies approached [illegible] other, Raja Maun's [illegible]s rode [illegible] alute him, preparatory, as he thought, to [illegible] their clans for the combat; but it was their farewell obeisance. The cannonade opened, they rallied under the standard of the pretender and on Sowae advancing on the right of the [illegible]d line so entire was the defection, that even the Mairtea [illegible], whose virtue and boast it is "to adhere to the thrones, whoever is the occupant," deserted, with the Champawuts, [illegible]tawuts, and minor chiefs. Four chieftains alone abided the [illegible] hour of Raja Maun, namely, Koochamun, Ahore, Jhalore, [illegible] Neemaj; and with their quotas alone, and the auxiliary [illegible]ds of Boondi, he would have rushed into the battle. Hindered from this, he attempted his own life: but the design was frustrated by Seonath of Koochamun, who dismounted him from his elephant, and advised his trusting to the fleetness of [illegible]s steed, while they covered his flight. The Raja remarked, "he was the first of his race who ever disgraced the name of Rahtore by showing his back to a Cuchwaha. The position he had taken that morning was favourable to retreat, being a mile in advance of the pass of Purbutsir: this was speedily gained, and nobly defended by the battalions of Boondi, and those of Hundall Khan, in the pay of Raja Maun, which retarded the pursuit, headed by the Rao of Oonara. Raja Maun reached Mairta in safety; but deeming it incapable of long resistance, he continued his flight by Peepar to the capital, which he reached with a slender retinue, including the four chiefs, who still shared his fortunes. The camp of Raja Maun was pillaged. Eighteen guns were taken by Balla Rao Inglia, one of Sindia's commanders, and the lighter effects, the tents, elephants, and baggage, were captured by Meer Khan; while Parbutsir, and the villages in the neighbourhood, were plundered.

Thus far, the scheme of Sowae and the Pretender advanced

with rapid success. When the allied army reached Mairta, the prince of Jeypur, whose object was the princess of Mewar, proposed to Sowae to follow up their good fortune, while he repaired to Oodipur, and solemnized the nuptials. But even in the midst of his revenge, Sowae could distinguish "between the cause of Maun Sing and the *gadi* of Marwar;" and to promote the success of Jeypur, though he had originated the scheme to serve his own views, was no part of his plan. He was only helped out of this dilemma by another, which he could not anticipate. Not dreaming that Raja Maun would hold out in the capital, which had no means of defence, but supposing he would fly to Jhalore, and leave Jodhpur to its fate and to the pretender, Sowae, desirous to avoid the further advance of the allies into the country, halted the army for three days at Mairta. His foresight was correct; the Raja had reached Birsilpur in full flight to Jhalore, when, at the suggestion of Gaenmul Singwi, a civil officer in his train, he changed his intention. "There," said the Singwi, "lays Jodhpur only nine coss to the right, while Jhalore is sixteen further; it is as easy to gain the one as the other, and if you cannot hold out in the capital, what chance have you elsewhere? While you defend your throne your cause is not lost." Raja Maun followed the advice, reached Jodhpur in a few hours, and prepared for his defence. This unexpected change, and the halt of the allied army, which permitted the dispersed bands to gain the capital, defeated the schemes of Sowae.

With a body of three thousand men, selected from Hundall Khan's brigade, the corps of Bishenswamis, under Kaimdas, and one thousand foreign Rajpoots, consisting of Chohans, Bhattis, and Eendos (the ancient lords of Mundore), Raja Maun formed a garrison of five thousand men, on whom he could depend. So ample did he deem this number, that he despatched strong garrisons from Hundall's brigade with some Deora Rajpoots, to garrison Jhalore, and preserve the distant castle of Amerkote from surprise by the Sindies. Having thus provided against the storm, he fearlessly awaited the result. But so alienated was his mind from his kindred, that he would not even admit to the honour of defending his throne the four faithful chieftains who, in the general desertion, had abided by his fortunes. To all their entreaties to be received into the castle, that "they might defend the *kangras* (battlements) of Joda," he replied, they might defend the city if they pleased; and disgusted with such a return for their fidelity they increased the train of his opponents, who soon encompassed Jodhpur.

The town, little capable of defence, was taken and given up to unlicensed plunder; and with the exception of Filodi,

which was gallantly defended for three months, and given to Bikaneer as the reward of its alliance, the *an* of the pretender was proclaimed throughout Marwar, and his allies only awaited the fall of the capital, which appeared inevitable, to proclaim him king. But a circumstance occurred, which, awakening the patriotism of the Rahtores, thwarted these fair prospects, relieved Raja Maun from his peril, and involved his adversaries in the net of destruction which they had woven for him.

The siege had lasted five months without any diminution of the ardour of the defenders; and although the defences of the north-east angle were destroyed, the besiegers, having a perpendicular rock of eighty feet to ascend before they could get to the breach, were not nearer their object, and, in fact, without shells, the castle of Joda would laugh a siege to scorn. The numerous and motley force under the banners of Jeypur and the pretender, became clamorous for pay; the forage was exhausted, and the partizan horse were obliged to bivouac in the distant districts to the south. Availing himself of their separation from the main body, Ameer Khan, an apt pupil of the Mahratta school, began to raise contributions on the fiscal lands, and Palli, Peepar, Bhilara, with many others, were compelled to accede to his demands. The estates of the nobles who espoused the cause of the pretender, fared no better, and they complained to the Xerxes of this host of the conduct of this unprincipled commander.

The protracted defence having emptied the treasury of Amber, the arch intriguer of Pokurn was called upon to contribute towards satisfying the clamour of the troops. Having exhausted the means of his own party, he applied to the four chieftains who had been induced to join the cause of the pretender by the suspicions of Raja Maun, to advance a sum of money. This appeal proved a test of their zeal. They abandoned the pretender, and proceeded direct to the camp of Ameer Khan. It required no powerful rhetoric to detatch him from the cause and prevail upon him to advocate that of Raja Maun; nor could they have given him better counsel towards this end, than the proposal to carry the war into the enemy's country: to attack and plunder Jeypur, now left unguarded. At the critical moment, the Jeypur prince, in consequence of the representation of the Marwar chiefs, had directed his commander-in-chief, Seolall, to chastise Meer Khan for his lawless conduct. Seolall put a stop to their deliberations, attacked and drove them across the Looni, surprised them at Govingurh, again in a night-attack at Hursoori, and pursued the Khan to Phaggi, at the very frontier of Jeypur. Astonished at his own success, and little aware that the chase was in the direction

projected by his enemy, Seolall deemed he had accomplished his orders in driving him out of Marwar; halted, and leaving his camp, repaired to Jeypur to partake of its festivities. The Khan, who with his allies had reached Peeploo near Tonk, no sooner heard of this, than he called to his aid the heavy brigades of Mahomed Shah Khan and Raja Buhader (then besieging Iserdoh), and availed himself of the imprudent absence of his foe to gain over the Hydrabad *Rasala*, a legion well known in the predatory wars of that period. Having effected this object, he assailed the Jeypur force, which, notwithstanding this defection and the absence of its commander, fought with great valour, the battalions of Heera Sing being nearly cut to pieces. The action ended in the entire defeat of the Jeypurians, and the capture of their camp, guns and equipage. Prompted by the Rahtore chieftains, whose valour led to this result, Meer Khan rapidly followed up his success, and Jeypur was dismayed by the presence of the victor at her gates. The generalship of the Khan was the salvation of Raja Maun; it dissolved the confederacy, and fixed the doom of Sowae, its projector.

The tempest had been some time gathering: the Rajas of Bikaneer and Shapoora had already withdrawn from the confederacy and marched home, when like a clap of thunder, the effeminate Cuchwaha, who had in the outset of this crusade looked to a full harvest both of glory and of love, learned that his army was annihilated, and his capital invested by the Khan and a handful of Rahtores. Duped by the representations of Sowae, Rae Chund, *Dewán* or prime minister of Jeypur, concealed for some days these disasters from his sovereign, who received the intelligence by a special messenger sent by the queen mother. Enraged, perplexed, and alarmed for his personal safety, he broke up the siege, and sending on in advance the spoils of Jodhpur (including forty pieces of cannon), with his own chieftains, he sent for the Mahratta leaders,* and offered them £120,000 to escort him in safety to his capital; nay, he secretly bribed, with a bond of £90,000 more, the author of his disgrace, Ameer Khan, not to intercept his retreat, which was signally ignominious, burning his tents and equipage at every stage, and at length with his own hand destroying his

* Bapoo Sindia, Balla Rao Inglia, with the brigade of Jean Baptiste, all Sindia's dependents. This was early in 1806. The author was then in Sindia's camp and saw these troops marched off; and in 1807, in a geographical tour, he penetrated to Jeypur, and witnessed the wrecks of Jeypur army. The sands round the capital were white with the bones of horses, and the ashes of their riders, who had died in the vain expectation of getting their arrears of pay.

favourite elephant, which "wanted speed for the rapidity of his flight."

But the indignities he had to suffer were not over. The chieftains whose sagacity and valour had thus diverted the storm from Raja Maun, determined that no trophies of Rahtore disgrace should enter Jeypur, united their clans about twenty miles east of Mairta, on the line of retreat, appointing Induraj Singwi their leader. This person, who had held the office of *Dewa'n* under two predecessors of Raja Maun, was driven to a temporary defection from the same suspicions which made the chiefs join the pretender. But they resolved to wash away the stain of this brief alienation from Raja Maun with the blood of his enemies, and to present as the token of returning fidelity the recaptured trophies. The encounter took place on the joint frontier. It was short, but furious; and the Cuchwahas, who could not withstand the Rahtores, were defeated and dispersed, and the spoils of the spoiler, including the forty cannon, were safely lodged in Kochamun. Flushed with success, the victors addressed the Raja of Kishengurh, who, though a Rahtore, had kept aloof, to advance funds to secure the continuance of Meer Khan's aid. Two lakhs of rupees (£20,000) effected this object; and the Khan, pledging himself to continue his support to Raja Maun, repaired to Jodhpur. The four chiefs who had thus signalized themselves, preceded him, and were received with open arms: their offences were forgiven, and their estates restored, while Induraj was appointed Bukshee or commander of the forces.

CHAPTER XV.

Meer Khan's reception at Jodhpur.—Engages to extirpate Sowae's faction.—Interchanges turbans with the Raja.—The Khan repairs to Nagore.—Interview with Sowae.—Swears to support the Pretender.—Massacre of the Rajpoot chiefs.—Pretender flies.—The Khan plunders Nagore.—Receives £100,000 from Raja Maun.—Jeypur over-run.—Bikaneer attacked.—Meer Khan obtains the ascendancy in Marwar.—Garrisons Nagore with his Pathans.—Partitions lands amongst his chiefs.—Commands the salt lakes of Nowah and Sambhur.—The Minister Induraj and high-priest Deonath assassinated.—Raja Maun's reason affected.—His seclusion.—Abdication in favour of his son Chutter Sing.—He falls the victim of illicit pursuits.—Madness of Raja Maun increased.—Its causes.—Suspicions of the Raja having sacrificed Induraj.—The oligarchy headed by Salim Sing of Pokurn, son of Sowae, assumes the charge of the government.—Epoch of British universal supremacy.—Treaty with Marwar framed during the regency of Chutter Sing.—The oligarchy, on his death, offer the gadi *of Marwar to the house of Edur.—Rejected.—Reasons.—Raja Maun entreated to resume the reins of power.—Evidence that his madness was feigned.—The Raja dissatisfied with certain stipulations of the treaty.—A British officer sent to Jodhpur.—Akhi Chund, chief of the civil administration.—Salim Sing of Pokurn, chief minister.—Opposition led by Futteh Raj.—British troops offered to be placed at the Raja's disposal.—Offer rejected.—Reasons.—British agent returns to Ajmeer.—Permanent agent appointed to the court of Raja Maun.—Arrives at Jodhpur.—Condition of the capital.—Interviews with the Raja.—Objects to be attained described.—Agent leaves Jodhpur.—General sequestrations of the fiefs.—Raja Maun apparently relapses into his old apathy.—His deep dissimulation.—Circumvents and seizes the faction.—Their wealth sequestrated.—Their ignominious death.—Immense resources derived from sequestrations.—Raja Maun's thirst for blood.—Fails to entrap the chiefs.—The Neemaj chief attacked.—His gallant defence.—Slain.—The Pokurn chief escapes.—Futteh Raj becomes minister.—Raja Maun's speech to him.—Neemaj attacked.—Surrender.—Raja Maun's infamous violation of his pledge.—Noble conduct of the mercenary commander.—Voluntary exile of the whole aristo-*

cracy of Marwar.—Received by the neighbouring princes.—Maun's gross ingratitude to Anar Sing.—The exiled chiefs apply to the British Government, which refuses to mediate.—Raja Maun loses the opportunity of fixing the constitution of Marwar.—Reflections.

AMEER KHAN was received by Raja Maun with distinguished honours; a palace in the castle was assigned as his residence; valuable gifts were presented to him and great rewards held in perspective, if, through his agency, the rebellion should be completely subdued. He swore to extirpate Sowae's faction, and in token of identity of views with Raja Maun, he was admitted to the honour of that last proof of devotion to his cause, "an interchange of turbans," with an advance of three lakhs, or £30,000, for the immediate payment of his bonds.

On the raising of the siege of Jodhpur, Sowae conducted the Pretender to the appanage of the heirs of Marwar, the city of Nagore. There they were deliberating as to their future plans, when a message was brought from Ameer Khan from Moondhiawur, ten miles distant, begging permission to perform his devotions at the shrine of the Mooslem saint, Peer Tarkeen, the sole relic of the Islamite which Bukht Sing had spared. His request being complied with, he with a slight cavalcade left his camp, and having gone through the mummeries of devotion, paid his respects to Sowae. When about to take leave, he threw out hints of Raja Maun's ungrateful return for his services, and that his legions might have been better employed. Sowae greedily caught at the bait; he desired the Khan to name his terms, and offered £200,000 on the day that Dhonkul should possess the *gadi* of Jodhpur. The Khan accepted the conditions and ratified the engagement on the Koran, and to add to the solemnity of the pledge, he exchanged turbans with Sowae. This being done, he was introduced to the Pretender, received the usual gifts, pledged his life in his cause, took leave, and returned to his camp, whither he invited the prince and his chiefs on the following day to accept of an entertainment.

On the morning of the 19th of Cheit, S. 1864 (A. D. 1808), Sowae, attended by the chief adherents of the Pretender and about five hundred followers, repaired to the camp of the Khan, who had made every preparation for the more effectual perpetration of the bloody and perfidious deed he meditated. A spacious tent was pitched in the centre of his camp for the reception of his guests, and cannon were loaded with grape ready to be turned against them. The visitors were received with the most distinguished courtesy; turbans were again exchanged;

the dancing-girls were introduced, and nothing but festivity was apparent. The Khan arose, and making an excuse to his guests for a momentary absence, retired. The dancing continued, when at the word "*dugga*," pronounced by the musicians, down sunk the tent upon the unsuspicious Rajpoots, who fell an easy prey to the ferocious Pathans. Forty-two chieftains were thus butchered in the very sanctuary of hospitality, and the heads of the most distinguished were sent to the Raja Maun. Their adherents, taken by susprise, were slaughtered by the soldiery, or by cannon charged with grape, as they fled. The Pretender escaped from Nagore, which was plundered by the Khan, when not only all the property of the party, but the immense stores left by Bukht Sing, including three hundred pieces of cannon were taken, and sent to Sambhur and other strongholds held by the Khan. Having thus fulfilled his instructions, he repaired to Jodhpur, and received ten lakhs or £100,000, and two large towns, Moondhiawur and Koochilawas, of thirty thousand rupees annual rent, besides one hundred rupees daily for table-allowance, as the reward of his signal infamy.

Thus, by the murder of Sowae and his powerful partizans, the confederacy against Raja Maun was extinguished; but though the Raja had thus, miraculously as it were, defeated the gigantic schemes formed against him, the mode by which it was effected entailed upon him and upon his country unexampled miseries. The destruction of the party of the Pretender was followed by retaliation on the various members of the league. The Jeypur territory was laid waste by the troops of Meer Khan, and an expedition was planned against Bikaneer. An army, consisting of twelve thousand of Raja Maun's feudal levies, under the command of Induraj, with a brigade of Meer Khan, and that of Hundall Khan with thirty-five guns, marched against the chief of the independent Rahtores. The Bikaneer Raja formed an army little inferior in numbers, and gave his suzerain the meeting at Bapri; but after a partial encounter, in which the former lost two hundred men, he fell back upon his capital, pursued by the victors, who halted at Gujnair. Here terms were offered; two lakhs as the expenses of the war, and the surrender of the bone of contention, the town of Filodi, which had been assigned to Bikaneer as the price of joining the confederacy.

The Khan was now the arbiter of Marwar. He stationed Ghufoor Khan with a garrison in Nagore, and partitioned the lands of Mairta amongst his followers. He likewise placed his garrison in the castle of Nowah, which gave him the command of the salt-lakes of Nowah and Sambhur. Induraj and the

high-priest Deonath were the only counsellors of Raja Maun, and all the oppressions which the chieftains suffered through this predominant foreign interference, were attributed to their advice. To cut them off, the chiefs in their turn applied to Ameer Khan, who for seven lakhs (£70,000) readily consented to rid them of their enemies. A plot was laid, in which some of his Pathans, under pretence of quarrelling with Induraj for their arrears, put this minister and the high-priest to death.

The loss of Deonath appeared to affect the reason of Raja Maun. He shut himself up in his apartments, refused to communicate with any one, and soon omitted every duty, whether political or religious, until at length he was recommended to name his only son Chuttur Sing as his successor. To this he acceded, and with his own hand made the mark of inauguration on his forehead. But youth and base panders to his pleasures seduced him from his duties, and he died, some say, the victim of illicit pursuits, others, from a wound given by the hand of one of the chieftains, whose daughter he attempted to seduce.

The premature death of his only son, before he had attained the years of majority, still more alienated the mind of Raja Maun from all state affairs, and his suspicions of treacherous attempts on his person extended even to his wife. He refused all food, except that which was brought by one faithful menial. He neglected his ablutions, allowed his face to be covered with hair, and at lenght either was, or affected to be insane. He spoke to no one, and listened with the apathy of an idiot to the communications of the ministers, who were compelled to carry on the goverment. By many it is firmly believed that the part he thus acted was feigned, to escape the snares laid for his life; while others think that it was a melancholy mania, arising from remorse at having consented to the murder of Induraj, which incidentally involved that of the *Guru*.* In short, his alliance with the atrocious Khan exposed him to the suspicion of a participation in his crimes, which the bent of his policy too much favoured. In this condition—the government being managed by an oligarchy headed by Salim Sing (son of Sowae)—did Raja Maun remain, until the tide of events carried the arms of Britain even to the desert of Maroo.

When, in 1817, we invited the Rajpoots to disunite from the predatory powers, and to join us in establishing order throughout India, the young son of Raja Maun, or rather his ministers, sent envoys to Delhi. But ere the treaty was ratified, this dissipated youth was no more. On this event, the Pokurn faction, dreading Raja Maun's resumption of the government,

* For the character of this priest, see Vol. I.

made an application to Edur for a son to adopt as their sovereign. But splendid as was the offer, the Raja, who had but one son, rejected it, unless the demand were sustained by the unanimous suffrages of the nobles. Unanimity being unattainable, the faction had no alternative save the restoration of Raja Maun; but it was in vain they explained the new position of Marwar, the alliance with the English, which awaited his sanction, and the necessity that he, as the last prop of the royal family, should resume the reins of power. He listened to all with the most apathetic indifference. But although he saw in this new crisis of the political condition of his country, motives for effecting his escape from bondage, his mind was so tutored by bitter experience that he never for an instant betrayed its workings. When at length he allowed himself to comprehend the full nature of the changes which made even the faction desire his egress from solitude, so far from expressing any joy, he even disapproved of part of the treaty, and especially the article relating to the armed contingent of his vassals to be at the disposal of the protecting power, in which he wisely saw the germ of discord, from the certainty of interference it would lead to.

It was in December 1817 that the treaty* was negotiated at Delhi by a Brahmin named Beas Bishen Ram, on the part of the regent prince, and in December 1818, an officer of the British government† was deputed to report on its actual condition. Notwithstanding the total disorganization of the government, from the combination of causes already described, the court had lost nothing of its splendour or regularity; the honour of all was concerned in preserving the dignity of the '*gadi*,' though its incumbent was an object of distrust and even detestation. The ministry at this period was conducted by Akhi Chund (*Dewan*), and Salim Sing of Pokurn, as the representative of the aristocracy, with the title of *bhanjgur*. All the garrisons and offices of trust throughout the country were held by the creatures of a junto, of which these were the heads. There was, however, already the nucleus of an opposition in the brother of the murdered minister, named Futteh Raj, who was entrusted with the care of the city. The instructions of the agent were to offer the aid of the British government towards the settlement of Raja Maun's affairs; and at a private interview, three days after the agent's arrival, troops were offered to be placed at his disposal. But the wariness of his character will be seen in the use he made of this offer. He felt that the lever was at hand to crush faction to the dust;

* See treaty, Appendix No. II.

† Mr. Wilder, superintendent of the district of Ajmeer.

and with a Machiavelian caution, he determined that the existence of this engine should suffice; that its power should be felt, but never seen; that he should enjoy all the advantages this influence would give, without risking any of its dangers if called into action. Thus, while he rejected, though with thanks, the essential benefit tendered, qualifying his refusal with a sufficient reason—"reliance on himself to restore his state to order,"—he failed not to disseminate the impression amongst his chiefs, which was enough for his purpose, and which besides checked the dictation and interference that uniformly result from such unequal alliances.

Energetic councils and rapid decision are unknown to Asiatic governments, whose subjects are ever prone to suspicion whenever unusual activity is visible; and Raja Maun had been schooled into circumspection from his infancy. He appeared anxious to bury the past in oblivion, by choosing men of both parties for the inferior duties of the ministry; and the blandness of his manners and his conciliatory address, lulled the most suspicious into security. After a short residence, the agent returned to Ajmeer, having in vain tried to convince Raja Maun that his affairs were irretrievable without the direct aid of the paramount power, which he persisted in repudiating, assigning as his reason that he felt convinced, from "the measures then in train," he should accomplish the task himself: of these measures conciliation appeared to be the basis.

At this period* an envoy was appointed, with powers direct from the Governor-General to Raja Maun, but he was for some months prevented from proceeding to his court, from various causes.†

* In February 1819, the author had the political duties of Marwar added to those of the States of Oodipur, Kotah, Boondi, and Sirohi.

† One of these was an unpleasant altercation, which took place between the towns-people of the Commercial Mart of Palli and an English gentleman, sent unofficially to feel his way as to the extension of commercial enterprise, carrying specimens of the staple commodities of our trade. This interference with the very fountain-head of their trade alarmed the monopolists of Palli, who, dreading such competition, created or took advantage of an incident to rid themselves of the intruder. The commercial men of these regions almost all profess the Jain religion, whose first rule of faith is the preservation of life, in beast as in man. By them, therefore, the piece-goods, the broad-cloths and metals of the Christian trader, were only less abhorred than his flesh-pots, and the blood of the goats sworn to have been shed by his servants within the bounds of Palli, rose in judgment against their master, of whom a formal complaint was laid before Raja Maun. It lost none of its acrimony in coming through the channel of his internuncio at Oodipur, the Brahmin, Bishen Ram. Mr. Rutherford rebutted the charge, and an investigation took place at the capital on oath, upon which, as the merchants and the governor of Pall (a nephew of the minister), could not substantiate their charge, the latter

The agent, who reached Jodhpur early in the month of November, found matters in nearly the same state as on his predecessor's departure in February. The same faction kept the prince and all the officers of government at their disposal. The Raja interfered but little with their measures, except to acquiesce in or confirm them. The mercenary bands of Sindies or Pathans were in miserable plight and clamorous for their pay, not having been accounted with for three years; and they were to be seen begging in the streets of the capital, or hawking bundles of forage on their heads to preserve them from starvation. On the approach of the agent of the British Government, the forms of accounts were gone through, and they gave in acquittances in full of all demands, on condition of receiving thirty per cent. of their arrears; but this was only a form, and with his departure (in about three weeks), they despaired even of that.

The name of justice was unknown;—though, in allusion to the religion of the men in power, it was common to hear it said, "you may commit murder and no one will notice it; but woe to him who beats or maims a brute, for dogs are publicly fed while the soldier starves." In short, the sole object of the faction was to keep at a distance all interposition that might lead the prince to emancipate himself from their control. During the agent's stay of nearly three weeks, he had several private interviews with Raja Maun. The knowledge he had of the history of his ancestry and his own situation, and of the causes which had produced it, failed not to beget a corresponding confidence; and these interviews were passed in discussions on the ancient history of the country as well as on his own immediate affairs. The agent took leave with these words: "I know all the perils through which you have passed; I am

was severely reprimanded for his incivility. But whether the story was true or false, it was quite enough for their purpose. The interdict between Mr. Rutherford and the inhabitants of Palli was more effectual than the *Sanitary cordon* of any prince in Christendom. The feeling of resentment against him reached the agent of government, who was obliged to support what appeared the cause of truth, even according to the deposition made before their own judgment-seat, and he was consequently deemed inimical to the prince and the faction which then guided his councils. Mr. Rutherford proceeded afterwards to Kotah, to exhibit the same wares; but he was there equally an object of jealousy, though from letters of recommendation from the agent, it was less strongly manifested. It furnished evidence that such interference would never succeed. It is well his mission did not appear to be sanctioned by the government. What evil might not be effected by permitting unrestricted and incautious intercourse with such people, who can, and do obtain all they require of our produce without the presence of the *producers*, who, whether *within* or *without* the pale of the Company's service will not, I trust, be prematurely *forced* on Rajpootana, or it will assuredly hasten the day of inevitable separation!

aware how you surmounted them. By your resolution, your external enemies are now gone: you have the British Government as a friend; rely upon it with the same fortitude, and, in a very short time, all will be as you could desire."

Raja Maun listened eagerly to these observations. His fine features, though trained to bear no testimony to the workings within, relaxed with delight as he rapidly replied, "In one twelve months, my affairs will be as friendship could wish." To which the agent rejoined, "In half the time, Maharaja, if you are determined:" though the points to which he had to direct his mind were neither few nor slight, for they involved every branch of government; as

1. Forming an efficient administration.
2. Consideration of the finances; the condition of the crown lands; the feudal confiscations which, often unjust, had caused great discontent.
3. The re-organization and settlement of the foreign troops, on whose service the Raja chiefly depended.
4. An effective police on all the frontiers, to put down the wholesale pillage of the Mairs in the south, the Larkhanis in the north, and the desert Sahraes and Khosas in the west; reformation of the tariff, or scale of duties on commerce, which were so heavy as almost to amount to prohibition; and at the same time to provide for its security.

Scarcely had the agent left Jodhpur, before the faction, rejoiced at the removal of the only restraint on their narrow-minded views, proceeded in the career of disorder. Whether the object were to raise funds, or to gratify ancient animosities, the course pursued by the Dewan and his junto was the same. Ganorah, the chief fief of Godwar, was put under sequestration, and only released by a fine of more than a year's revenue. All the minor chiefs of this rich tract suffered in the same manner, besides the indignity of having their lands placed under the control of a brother of the minister. Chandawul was put under sequestration, and only released on a very heavy fine. At length the Dewan had the audacity to put his hand on Ahwa, the chief fief of Marwar; but the descendant of Champa replied, "my estate is not of to-day, nor thus to be relinquished." Gloom, mistrust, and resentment, pervaded the whole feudal body. They saw a contemptible faction sporting with their honour and possessions, from an idea they industriously propagated, that an unseen but mighty power was at hand to support their acts, given out as those of the prince. If the Raja did dictate them, he took especial care it should not be seen; for in the absence of the British agent, he once more resumed his sequestered habits, and appeared to take no interest in the

government further than to promote a coalition between Akhi Chund and Futteh Raj, who was supported by a strong party of the chiefs, and the influence of the favourite queen. But Akhi Chund, who commanded, through his creatures, all the resources of the country, and its strongholds, even to the castle of Jodhpur, rejected these overtures, and feigning that there were plots against his personal safety, left the city; and the better to exclude his adversaries from the prince, resided entirely in the citadel.

Six months had thus fled. The fiat of Akhi Chund was supreme; he alone was visible; his orders alone were obeyed. Raja Maun was only heard of as an automaton, moving as the Dewan pleased. But while the latter was thus basking in the full sunshine of prosperity, enriching himself and his dependents, execrated by the nobles and envied by his fellow-citizens, they heard of his fall! Then, the insanity of his master proved to be but a cloak to the intensity of his resentment. But a blind revenge would not have satisfied Raja Maun. The victims of his deep dissimulation, now in manacles, were indulged with hopes of life, which, with the application of torture, made them reveal the plunder of prince and subject. A schedule of forty lakhs or £400,000, was given in by the Dewan and his dependents, and their accounts being settled in this world, they were summarily dismissed to the other, with every mark of ignominy which could add to the horrors of death. Nugji, the *Kelléda'r*, and misleader of the late regent prince, with Moolji Dandul, one of the old allodial stock, had each a cup of poison, and their bodies were thrown over the 'Gate of Victory' *(Futtéh Pol)*. Jevaraj, a brother of the Dandul, with Beharri-das Kheechie, and the tailor, had their heads shaved, and their bodies were flung into the cascade beneath. Even the sacred character of "expounder of the *Vedas*," and that of "revealer of the secrets of heaven," yielded no protection; and Bees Seodas, with Sri-Kishen, *Jotishi*, the astrologer, were in the long list of proscriptions. Nugji, commandant of the citadel, and Moolji, had retired on the death of the regent-prince; and with the wealth they had accumulated, while administering to his follies, had erected places of strength. On the restoration of Raja Maun, and the general amnesty which prevailed, they returned to their ancient offices in the castle, rose into favour, and forgot they had been traitors. Having obtained their persons, Maun secured the ancient jewels of the crown, bestowed on these favourites during the ephemeral sway of his son. Their condemnation was then passed, and they were hurled over the battlements of the rock which it was their duty to guard. With such con-

summate skill was the plot contrived, that the creatures of the minister, in the most remote districts, were imprisoned simultaneously with himself. Of the many subordinate agents thus confined, many were liberated on the disclosure of their wealth; and by these sequestrations, Raja Maun obtained abundant supplies. The enormous sum of a crore, or near one million sterling, was stated; but if they yielded one-half (and this was not unlikely), they gave the means, which he was not slow to use, for the prosecution of what he termed a just punishment, though it better deserves the name of a savage revenge. Had he been satisfied with inflicting the last penalty of the law on the nefarious Akhi Chund, and some of the household officers whose fidelity ought ever to be firm, and with the sequestration of the estates of some two or three of the vassals whose power had become dangerous, or their treason too manifest to be overlooked, he would have commanded the services of the rest, and the admiration of all conversant with these events. But this first success added fuel to his revenge, and he sought out more noble victims to glut it. His circumspection and dissimulation were strengthened, not relaxed by his success. Several of the chiefs, who were marked out for death, had received, only a few days before, the highest proof of favour in additional lands to their rent-roll, and accident alone prevented a group of the most conspicuous from falling into the snare which had inveigled Akhi Chund. Salim Sing of Pokurn, and his constant associate Soortan of Neemaj, with Anar Sing of Ahore, and the minors of their clans, whose duty daily carried them to the court, as the chief advisers of the prince, formed a part of the administration of the Dewan, and they naturally took alarm upon his confinement. To obviate this, a deputation was sent by the prince to tranquillize them by the assurance that, in the confinement of the minister, whose rapacity and misconduct deserved punishment, the Raja had attained all his ends. Thus, in order to encompass the destruction of the Pokurn chief, he would not have scrupled to involve all the rest. The prince, with his own mouth, desired the confidential servant of Anar Sing, who was his personal friend, to attend with the others. Their distrust saved him. The same night, the mercenary bands, to the number of eight thousand men, with guns, attacked Soortan Sing in his dwelling. With one hundred and eighty of his clan, he defended himself against great guns and small arms, as long as the house was tenable, and then sallied out sword in hand, and, with his brother and eighty of his kin, fell nobly in the midst of his foes. The remainder retreated with their arms to defend Neemaj and their infant chief. This gallant defence, in which

many of the towns-people were slain, prevented a repetition of the attempt against the Pokurn chief, who remained on the defensive; until, seeing an opportunity, he fled to his asylum in the desert, or he would that day have renounced "the sheath of the dagger which held the fortunes of Marwar," and which now contained the accumulated revenge of four generations: of Deo Sing, of Subbulla, of Sowae, and his own. His death would have terminated this branch of Ajit's issue, adopted into the house of Pokurn, in the history of which we have a tolerable picture of the precariousness of existence in Marwar.*

What better commentary can be made on Raja Maun's character, than the few recorded words addressed to Futteh Raj, whom he sent for to the Presence, on the day succeeding these events? "Now you may perceive the reasons why I did not sooner give you office." This individual, the brother of the late Induraj, was [illegible] with instant [illegible] and with the sinews of war provided by the late set of Dewans, the troops were satisfied, while by the impression so sedulously propagated and believed that he had only to call on the British power for what aid he required, the whole feudal body was appalled: and the men, who would have hurled the tyrant from his throne, now only sought to avoid his insidious snares, more dangerous than upon force.

Neemaj was besieged and nobly defended; but at length the son of Soortan capitulated, on receiving the sign-manual of his prince promising pardon and restoration, guaranteed by the commander of the mercenary bands. To the eternal disgrace of the Raja, he broke this pledge, and the boy had scarcely appeared in the besieging camp, when the civil officer produced the Raja's mandate for his captivity and transmission to the Presence. If it is painful to record this fact, it is pleasing to add, that even the mercenary commander spurned the infamous injunction. "No," said he; "on the faith of my pledge (*buchun*) he surrendered; and if the Raja breaks his word, I will maintain mine, and at least place him in security." He kept his promise, and conveyed him to the Aravulli moun-

* In a letter addressed to the Government on these events, dated July 7, 1820, I observed, "The danger is, that success may tempt him to go beyond the line of necessity, either for the ends of justice or security. If he stops with the Pokurn chief, and one or two inferior concerned in the coalition of 1806 and the usurpation of his son, with the condign punishment of a few of the civil officers, it will afford a high opinion of his character; but if he involves Ahwa, and the other principal chiefs, in these proscriptions, he may provoke a strife which will yet overwhelm him. He has done enough for justice, and even for revenge, which has been carried too far as regards Soortan Sing, whose death (which I sincerely regret) was a prodigal sacrifice.'

tains, whence he passed over to, and received protection in Mewar.

This and similar acts of treachery and cold-blooded tyranny completely estranged all the chiefs. Isolated as they were, they could make no resistance against the mercenary battalions, amounting to ten thousand men, exclusive of the quotas; and they dared not league for defence, from the dreaded threat held over them, of calling in the British troops; and in a few months the whole feudal association of Marwar abandoned their homes and their country, seeking shelter in the neighbouring states from the Raja's cruel and capricious tyranny. To his connection with the British Government alone he was indebted for his being able thus to put forth the resources of his policy, which otherwise he never could have developed either with safety or effect; nor at any former period of the history of Marwar could the most caring of its princes have undertaken, with any prospect of success, what Raja Mive underpplished under this alliance.

These brave men found asylum in the neighbouring states of Kotah, Mewar, Bikaneer and Jeypur. Even the faithful Anar Sing, whose fidelity no gratitude could ever repay, was obliged to seek refuge in exile. He had stood Maun's chief shield against the proscription of Raja Bheem, when cooped up in Jhalore, and sold his wife's ornaments, "even to her nose-ring," to procure him the means of subsistence and defence. It was Anar Sing who saved him when, in the attempt upon Palli, he was unhorsed and nearly made prisoner. He was among the four chiefs who remained by his fortunes when the rest deserted to the standard of the Pretender; and he was one of the same body, who rescued the trophies of their disgrace from the hands of their enemies when on the road to Jeypur. Last of all, he was mainly instrumental in the Raja's emancipation and in his resumption of the reins of government. Well, might the fury of his revenge deserve the term of madness! In A. D. 1821, the greater chieftains of Marwar, thus driven into exile, were endeavouring to obtain the mediation of the British authorities; but another year had elapsed without the slightest advance to accommodation. Their conduct has been exemplary, but their degrading position, dependent on the scanty resources of others, must of itself work a cure. Their manly remonstrance addressed to the British functionary is already before the reader.* He did not hesitate to tell them, that if in due time no mediation was held out, they must depend on themselves for redress!

* See Vol. I.

Such was the political condition of Marwar until the year 1823. Had a demoniacal spirit of revenge not blinded Raja Maun, he had a fine opportunity to lay the principles of order on a permanent basis, and to introduce those reforms necessary for his individual welfare as well as for that of the state. He had it in his power to modify the institutions, to curb without destroying the feudal chiefs, and to make the whole subservient to the altered condition of affairs. Instead of having the glory of fixing the constitution of his country, he has (reposing on external protection) broken up the entire feudal association, and rendered the paramount power an object of hatred instead of reverence.

Having thus rapidly sketched the history of this interesting branch of the Rajpoot race, from the destruction of their ancient seat of empire, Canouj, and their settlement in the Indian desert more than six centuries ago, to the present day, it is impossible to quit the subject without a reflexion on the anomalous condition of their alliance with the British Government, which can sanction the existence of such a state of things as we have just described. It illustrates the assertions made in an early part of this work,* of the ill-defined principles which guide all our treaties with the Rajpoots, and which, if not early remedied, will rapidly progress to a state of things full of misery to them, and of inevitable danger to ourselves. These "men of the soil," as they emphatically designate themselves, cling to it, and their ancient and well-defined privileges, with an unconquerable pertinacity; in their endeavours to preserve them, whole generations have been swept away, yet has their strength increased in the very ratio of oppression. Where are now the oppressors, the dynasties of Ghizni, of Ghor, the Ghiljis, the Lodis, the Pathans, the Timoors, and the demoralizing Mahratta? The native Rajpoot has flourished amidst these revolutions, and survived their fall; and but for the vices of their internal sway, chiefly contracted from such association, would have risen to power upon the ruin of their tyrants. But internal dissension invited the spoiler; and herds of avaricious Mahrattas and ferocious Pathans have reaped the harvest of their folly. Yet all these faults were to be redeemed in their alliances with a people whose peculiar boast was, that wisdom, justice, and clemency were the corner-stones of their power: seeking nothing from them beyond the means for their defence, and an adherence to the virtues of order. How far the protecting power has redeemed its pledge, in allowing years to pass away without some attempt to remedy the anarchy we have described,

* Vol. I.

the reader is in a condition to judge. If it be said that we have tied up our hands by leaving them free agents in their internal administration, then let no offer of support be given to the head, for the oppression of the vassal and his rights, co-equal with those of the sovereign; and if our mediation cannot be exerted, let us withdraw altogether the checks upon the operation of their own system of government, and leave them free agents in reality. A wiser, more humane, and liberal policy would be, to impose upon ourselves the task of understanding their political condition, and to use our just influence for the restoration of their internal prosperity, and with it the peace, present as well as prospective, of an important part of our empire. The policy which such views would suggest, is to support the opinion of the vast majority of the Rahtores, and to seize the first opportunity to lend at least our sanction to an adoption, from the Edur branch, of Rahtore blood, not only uncontaminated, but heirs presumptive to Joda, and exclude the parricidal line which will continue to bring misery on the country. If, however, we apply only our own monarchical, nay despotic principles, to this feudal society, and interfere but to uphold a blind tyranny, which must drive these brave chiefs to despair, it will be well to reflect and consider, from the acts we have related, of what they are capable. Very different, indeed, would be the deeds of proscribed Rajpoots from those of vagabond Pindarries, or desultory Mahrattas; and what a field for aggression and retreat! Rumour asserts that they have already done themselves justice; and that, driven to desperation, and with no power to mediate, the dagger has reached the heart of Raja Maun! If this be true, it is a retribution which might have been expected; it was the only alternative left to the oppressed chiefs to do themselves justice. It is also said, that the 'pretended' son of Raja Bheem is now on the *gadi* of Joda. This is deeply to be lamented. Raja Dhonkul will see only the party who espoused his pretensions, and the Pokurn chief and faction will hold that place in the councils of his sovereign, which of right belongs to the head of his clan, the Champawut chief of Ahwa, an exile in Mewar.* Jealousy, feuds, and bloodshed will be the consequence, which would at once be averted by an adoption from Edur. Were a grand council of Rajpoots to be convened, in order to adjust the question, nine-tenths would decide as proposed; the danger of interference would be neutralized, and peace and tranquillity would be the boon bestowed upon thousands, and, what is of some consequence, future danger to ourselves would be avoided.

* He was so when the author left India in 1823.

CHAPTER XVI.

Extent and population of Marwar.—Classification of inhabitants.—Jits—Rajpoots, sacerdotal, commercial, and servile tribes.—Soil.—Agricultural products.—Natural productions.—Salt lakes.—Marble and limestone quarries.—Tin, lead, and iron mines.—Alum.—Manufactures.—Commercial marts.—Transit trade,—Palli, the emporium of Western India.—Mercantile classes.—Khartras and Oswals.—Kutars, *or caravans.—Imports and exports enumerated.*—Charuns, *the guardians of the caravans.—Commercial decline.—Causes.—Opium monopoly.—Fairs of Moondhwa and Bhalotra,—Administration of justice.—Punishments.—Raja Beejy Sing's clemency to prisoners, who are maintained by private charity.—Gaol deliveries on eclipses, births, and accession of princes.*—Sogun, *or ordeals: fire, water, burning oil.—Punchaets.—Fiscal revenues and regulations.*—Buttae, *or corn-rent.*—Shenahs *and* Kunwarris.—*Taxes.*—Anga, *or capitation tax.*—Gaswali, *or pasturage.*—Kewari, *or door tax; how originated.* Sayer, *or imposts; their amount.*—Dhannis, *or collectors.—Revenues from the salt-lakes.*—Tandas, *or caravans engaged in this trade.—Aggregate revenues.—Military resources.—Mercenaries.—Feudal quotas.—Schedule of feoffs.—Qualification of a cavalier.*

THE extreme breadth of Marwar lies between two points in the parallel of the capital, *viz.*, Girap, west, and Shamgurh, on the Aravulli range, east. This line measures two hundred and seventy British miles. The greatest length, from the Sirohi frontier to the northern boundary, is about two hundred and twenty miles. From the remote angle, N. N. E., in the Deedwanoh district, to the extremity of Sanchore, S. W., the diagonal measurement is three hundred and fifty miles. The limits of Marwar are, however, so very irregular, and present so many salient angles and abutments into other states, that without a trigonometrical process we cannot arrive at a correct estimate of its superficial extent: a nicety not, inded, required.

The most marked feature that diversifies the face of Maroo, is the river Looni, which, rising on her eastern frontier at Pooshkur, and pursuing a westerly course, nearly bisects the country, and forms the boundary between the fertile and sterile lands of Maroo. But although the tracts south of this stream,

between it and the Aravulli, are by far the richest part of Marwar, it would be erroneous to describe all the northern part as sterile. An ideal line, passing through Nagore and Jodhpur, to Bhalotra, will mark the just distinction. South of this line will lie the districts of Deedwanoh, Nagore, Mairta, Jodhpur, Palli, Sojut, Godwar, Sewanoh, Jhalore, Beenmahl, and Sanchore, most of which are fertile and populous; and we may assign a population of eighty souls to the square mile. The space north of this line is of a very different character, but this requires a sub-division; for while the north-east portion, which includes a portion of Nagore, the large towns of Filodi, Pokurn, &c., may be calculated at thirty, the remaining space to the south-west, as *Gogadeoca-thul* or 'desert of Goga,' Sheo, Barmair, Kotra, and Chotun, can scarcely be allowad ten. In round numbers, the population of Marwar may be estimated at two millions of souls.

Classes of Inhabitants.—Of this amount, the following is the classification of the tribes. The Jits constitute five-eighths, the Rajpoots two-eighths, while the remaining classes, sacerdotal,* commercial, and servile, make up the integral number. If this calculation be near the truth, the Rajpoots, men, women, and children, will amount to five hundred thousand souls, which would admit of fifty thousand men capable of bearing arms, especially when we recollect that the Jits or Jats are the industrious class.

It is superfluous to expatiate on the peculiarities of the Rahtore character, which we have endeavoured to extract from their own actions. It stands deservedly high in the scale of the "thirty-six tribes," and although debased by one besetting sin (the use of opium), the Rahtore is yet a noble animal, and requires only some exciting cause to shew that the spirit, which set at defiance the resources of the empire in the zenith of its prosperity, is dormant only, not extinct. The reign of the present prince has done more, however, than even the arms of Arungzebe, to deteriorate the Rahtores. Peace would recruit their thinned ranks, but the mistrust sown in every house by unheard of duplicity, has greatly demoralized the national character, which until lately stood higher than that of any of the circumjacent tribes. A popular prince, until within these very few years could easily have collected a magnificent army, *ek ba'p ca' beta'*, 'the sons of one father,' round the '*gadi* of Joda'; in fact, the *pancha's huzar turwar Rahtoran*, meaning the 'fifty thousand Rahtore swords,' is the proverbial phrase to denote the muster of Maroo, of which they estimated

* The district of Sanchore is almost entirely Brahmin, forming a distinct tribe, called the Sanchora Brahmins.

five thousand cavalry. This was exclusive of the household and foreign troops supported on the fiscal lands. The Rahtore cavalry was the best in India. There were several horse-fairs, especially those of Bhalotra and Pooshkur, where the horses of Cutch and Cattiawar, the jungle and Mooltan, were brought in great numbers. Valuable horses were also bred on the western frontier, on the Looni, those of *Rardurro* being in high estimation. But the events of the last twenty years appear to have dried up every source of supply. The breeding studs of Rardurro, Cutch, and the jungle are almost extinct, and supplies from the west of the Indus are intercepted by the Sikhs. The destruction of the predatory system, which created a constant demand, appears to have lessened the supply. So much for the general peace which the successes of Britain have produced.

In periods of civil commotion, or when the safety of the state was periled, we hear of one clan (the Champawut) mustering four thousand horse. But if ever so many of "the sons of Champa" were congregated at one time, it is an extraordinary occurrence, and far beyond the demand which the state has upon their loyalty. To estimate what may be demanded of them, we have only to divide the rent-roll by five hundred rupees, the qualification for a cavalier in Maroo, and to add, for each horse, two foot-soldiers. A schedule of the great feudal estates shall be appended.

Soil, Agriculture, Products.—The following is the classification of the different heads of soil in Marwar:—*Baikal*, *Chikni*, *Peela*, and *Suffed*. The first (whose etymology I know not) pervades the greater part of the country, being a light sand, having little or no earthy admixture, and only fit to produce *bajra* (millet), *moong*, *moth*, (pulse), *til* (sesamum), melons and *gowár*. *Chikni* (fat), a black earth, pervades the district of Deedwanoh, Mairta, Palli, and several of the feudal lands in Godwar. Wheat and grain are its products. The *Peela* (yellow) is a sandy clay, chiefly about Kewnsir and the capital, also Jhalore and Bhalotra, and portions of other districts. It is best adapted for barley, and that kind of wheat called *Pattageon*, (the other is *Katta-geon*); also tobacco, onions, and other vegetables: the staple millets are seldom grown in this. The *Suffed* (white) is almost pure silex, and grows little or nothing, but after heavy falls of rain.

The districts south of the Looni, as Palli, Sojut, and Godwar, fertilized by the numerous petty streams flowing from the Aravulli, produce abundantly every species of grain with the exception of *bajra*, which thrives best in a sandy soil; and in Nagore and Mairta considerable quantities of the richer grains

are raised by irrigation from wells. The extensive western divisions of Jhalore, Sanchore, and Beenmahl, containing five hundred and ten towns and villages, which are *Khalisa*, or 'fiscal land' possess an excellent soil, with the advantage of the rills from Aboo, and the great southern barrier; but the demoralized government of Raja Maun never obtains from them one-third of their intrinsic capability, while the encroachment of the Sahraes, and other robbers from the Sindie desert, encroach upon them often with impunity. Wheat, barley, rice, *jooar* (millet), *moong* (pulse), *til* (sesamum), are the chief products of the richer lands; while amidst the sandy tracts they are confined to *bajra*, *moong*, and *til*. With good government, Marwar possesses abundance of means to collect stores against the visitations which afflict these northern regions: but prejudice steps in to aid the ravages of famine, and although water is near the surface in all the southern districts, the number of wells bears no proportion to those in Mewar. The great district of Nagore, of five hundred and sixty towns and villages, the appanage of the heirs-apparent of Maroo, in spite of physical difficulties, is, or has been made, an exception; and the immense sheet of sandstone, on which a humid soil is embedded, has been pierced throughout by the energies of ancient days, and contains greater aids to agriculture than many more fertile tracts in the country.

Natural Productions.—Marwar can boast of some valuable productions of her sterile plains, which make her an object of no little importance in the most distant and more favoured regions of India. The salt lakes of Pachbhadra, Deedwanoh, and Sambhur, are mines of wealth, and their produce is exported over the greater part of Hindustan; while to the marble quarries of Mokrano (which gives its name to the mineral), on her eastern frontier, all the splendid edifices of the imperial cities owe their grandeur. The materials used in the palaces of Delhi, Agra, their mosques, and tombs, have been conveyed from Marwar. The quarries, until of late years, yielded a considerable revenue; but the age for palace-building in these regions is no more, and posterity will ask with surprise the sources of such luxury. There are also limestone quarries near Jodhpur and Nagore; and the concrete called *kunkur* is abundant in many of the districts, and chiefly used for mortar. Tin and lead are found at Sojut; alum about Palli, and iron is obtained from Beenmahl and the districts adjoining Guzerat.

Manufactures.—The manufactures of Marwar are of no great importance in a commercial point of view. Abundance of coarse cotton cloths, and blankets, are manufactured from the cotton and wool produced in the country, but they are

chiefly used there. Matchlocks, swords, and other warlike implements, are fabricated at the capital and at Palli; and at the latter place they make boxes of iron, tinned, so as to resemble the tin boxes of Europe. Iron platters for culinary purposes are in such great demand as to keep the forges constantly going.

Commercial Marts.—None of these states are without traffic; each has her mart, or *entrepot*; and while Mewar boasts of Bhilwara, Bikaneer of Chooroo, and Amber of Malpoora (the city of wealth), the Rahtores claim, Palli, which is not only the rival of the places just mentioned, but may make pretensions to the title of *emporium* of Rajpootana. These pretensions we may the more readily admit, when we recollect that nine-tenths of the bankers and commercial men of India are natives of Maroodes, and these chiefly of the Jain faith. The laity of the *Khartra* sect send forth thousands to all parts of India, and the Oswals, so termed from the town of Osi, near the Looni, estimate one hundred thousand families whose occupation is commerce. All these claim a Rajpoot descent, a fact entirely unknown to the European enquirer into the peculiarities of Hindu manners. The wealth acquired in foreign lands, from the Sutlej to the ocean, returns chiefly to their native soil; but as neither primogeniture nor *majorats* are sanctioned by the Jain law-givers, an equal distribution takes place amongst all the sons, though the youngest (as amongst the Getes of Asia, and the Juts of Kent), receives often a double portion. This arises when the division takes place while the parent is living being the portion set apart for his own support, which ultimately falls to the youngest, with whom he probably resides. It would be erroneous to say this practice is extensive; though sufficient instances exist to suppose it once was a principle.* The bare enumera-

* There is nothing which so much employs the assessors of justice, in those tribunals of arbitration, the *Punchaets*, as the adjudication of questions, of property. The highest compliment ever paid to the Author, was by the litigants of property amounting to half a million sterling which, had been going the rounds of various *Punchaets* and appeals to native princes, alike unsatisfactory in their results. They agreed to admit as final the decision of a court of his nomination. It was not without hesitation I accepted the mediation propounded through the British superintendent of Ajmeer (Mr. Wilder); but knowing *two* men, whose integrity as well as powers of investigation were above all encomium, I could not refuse. One of these had given a striking instance of independence in support of the award his penetration had led him to pronounce, and which award being set aside on appeal, through favouritism, he abjured every future call as an arbitrator. He was not a wealthy man, but such was the homage paid to his integrity and talents, that the greatest despot in India found it politic to re-assemble the court, have the case re-considered, and permit justice to take its course. In like manner, his demand was, that, before he agreed to devote his time to unravelling all the intricacies of

tion of the tribes following commerce would fill a short chapter. A priest of the Jains (my own teacher), who had for a series of years devoted his attention to form a catalogue, which then amounted to nearly *eighteen hundred classes*, renounced the pursuit, on obtaining from a distant region, one hundred and fifty new names to add to his list.

Palli was the *entrepot* for the eastern and western regions, where the productions of India, Cashmeer, and China, were interchanged for those of Europe, Africa, Persia and Arabia. Caravans (*kutars*), from the ports of Cutch and Guzerat, imported elephant's teeth, copper, dates, gum-arabic, borax, coco-nuts, broad-cloths, silks, sandal wood, camphor, dyes, drugs, oxide and sulphuret of arsenic, spices, coffee, &c. In exchange, they exported chintzes, dried fruits, *jeeroh*, assafœtida from Mooltan, sugar, opium (Kotah and Malwa), silks and fine cloths, potash, shawls, dyed blankets, arms, and salt of home manufacture.

The route of the caravans was by Sooie Bah, Sanchore, Beenmahl, Jhalore to Palli, and the guardians of the merchandize, were almost invariably Charuns, a character held sacred by the Rajpoot. The most desperate outlaw seldom dared to commit any outrage on caravans under the safeguard of these men, the bards of the Rajpoots. If not strong enough to defend their convoy with sword and shield, they would threaten the robbers with the *chandi*, or 'self-immolation;' and proceed by degrees from a gash in the flesh to a death-wound, or if one victim was insufficient a whole body of women and children was sacrificed (as in the case of the Bhamunia Bhats), for whose blood the marauder is declared responsible hereafter.

Commerce has been almost extinguished within these last twenty years; and paradoxical as it may appear, there was tenfold more activity and enterprize in the midst of that predatory warfare, which rendered India one wide arena of conflict, than in these days of universal pacification. The torpedo touch of monopoly has had more effect on the *Kutars* than the spear of the desert Sahrae, or *barwuttia* (outlaw) Rajpoot —against its benumbing qualities the Charun's dagger would fall innocuous; it sheds no blood, but it dries up its channels. If the products of the salt-lakes of Rajpootana were preferred, even at Benares, to the sea-salt of Bengal, high impost duties excluded it from the market. If the opium of Malwa and Harouti competed in the China Market with our Patna monopoly, again we intervened, not with high export duties, which

the case, both litigants should sign a *moochilka* or 'bond,' to abide by the award. I have no recollection how it terminated.

we were competent to impose, but by laying our shackles upon it at the fountain-head. "*Aut Cæsar, aut nullus*," is our maxim in these regions; and in a country where our agents are established only to preserve political relations and the faith of treaties, the basis of which is non-interference in the internal arrangement of their affairs—albeit we have not a single foot of land in sovereignty, we set forth our *perwanas*, as peremptory as any Russian *ukase*, and command that no opium shall leave these countries for the accustomed outlets, under pain of confiscation. Some, relying on their skill in eluding our vigilance, or tempted by the high price which these measures produce, or perhaps reckoning upon our justice, and upon impunity if discovered, tried new routes, until confiscation brought them to submission.

We then put an arbitrary value upon the drug, and forced the grower to come to us, and even take credit to ourselves for consulting his interests. Even admitting that such price was a remunerating one, founded upon an average of past years, still it is not the less arbitrary. No allowance is made for plentiful or bad seasons, when the drug, owing to a scarcity, will bear a double price. Our legislation is for "all seasons and their change." But this virtual infraction of the faith of treaties is not confined to the grower or retailer; it affects others in a variety of ways; it injures our reputation and the welfare of those upon whom, for benevolent purposes, we have forced our protection. The transit duties levied on opium formed an item in the revenues of the princes of Rajpootana; but confiscation guards the passes of the Aravulli and Guzerat, and unless the smuggler wrap up his cargo in ample folds of deceit, the Rajpoot may go without his '*uml-pani*,' the infusion of this poison, dearer to him than life. It is in vain to urge that sufficient is allowed for home consumption. Who is to be the judge of this? Or who is so blind as not to see that any latitude of this kind would defeat the monopoly, which, impolitic in its origin, gave rise in its progress to fraud, gambling, and neglect of more important agricultural economy. But this policy must defeat itself: the excess of quantity produced will diminish the value of the original (Patna) monopoly, if its now deteriorated quality should fail to open the eyes of the quick-sighted Chinese, and exclude it from the market altogether.*

* The Author learns that important modifications of this system have been made by the legislative authorities at home: of their extent he is ignorant, except that remuneration to chiefs for the loss of transit duties has not been omitted. This is as it should be!

Fairs.—There were two annual fairs in this country, Moondhwa and Bhalotra; the first chiefly for cattle. The merchandize of various countries was exposed and purchased by the merchants of the adjoining states. It commenced with the month of Magh, and lasted during six weeks. The other was also for cattle of all kinds, horses, oxen, camels, and the merchandize enumerated amongst the imports and exports of Palli. Persons from all parts of India frequented them; but all these signs of prosperity are vanishing.

Administration of Justice.—The administration of justice is now very lax in these communities; but at no time were the customary criminal laws of Rajpootana sanguinary, except in respect to political crimes, which were very summarily dealt with when practicable. In these feudal associations, however, such crimes are esteemed individual offences, and the whole power of the government is concentrated to punish them; but when they are committed against the community, justice is tempered with mercy, if not benumbed by apathy. In cases even of murder, it is satisfied with fine, corporal punishment, imprisonment, confiscation, or banishment. Inferior crimes, such as larcenies, were punished by fine and imprisonment, and, when practicable, restitution; or, in case of inability to pay, corporal punishment and confinement. But under the present lax system, when this impoverished government has to feed criminals, it may be supposed that their prisons are not overstocked. Since Raja Beejy Sing's death, the judgment-seat has been vacant. His memory is held in high esteem for the administration of justice, though he carried clemency to excess. He never confirmed a sentence of death; and there is a saying of the criminals, yet extant, more demonstrative of his humanity than of good policy: "When at large we cannot even get *rabri* (porridge), but in prison we eat *ladoo* (a sweetmeat)." Here, as at Jeypur, confined criminals are maintained by individual charity; and it is a well-known fact, that at the latter place, but for the humanity of the mercantile classes, especially those of the Jain persuasion, they might starve. Perhaps it is the knowledge of this circumstance, which holds back the hand of the government, or its agents, who may apply to their own uses the prison-fare. When once confined, the criminals are little thought of, and neglect answers all the ends of cruelty. They have, however, a source of consolation unknown to those who have passed "the bridge of sighs" or become inmates of the '*oubliettes*' of more civilized regions. That fortitude and resignation which religion alone can bestow on the one, is obtained through superstition by the other; and the prayers of the prison are poured forth for one of those

visitations of Providence, which, in humbling the proud, prompts acts of mercy to others in order to ensure it to themselves. The celestial phenomena of eclipses, whether of the sun or moon, although predicted by the Pundits, who for ages have possessed the most approved theory for calculation, are yet looked upon with religious awe by the mass, and as "foreboding change to princes." Accordingly, when darkness dims the beams of Surya or Chandra, the face of the prisoner of Maroo is lighted up with smiles; his deliverance is at hand, and he may join the crowd to hoot and yell, and frighten the monster Rahoo* from his hold of the "silver-moon."† The birth of a son to the prince, and a new reign, are events likewise joyful to him.

The trial by *sogun*, literally 'oath of purgation,' or ordeal, still exists, and is occasionally had recourse to in Maroo, as in other parts of Rajpootana; and, if fallen into desuetude, it is not that these judgments of God (as they were styled in the days of European barbarism) are less relied on, but that society is so unhinged that even these appeals to chance find no subjects for practice, excepting by Zalim Sing; and he to the last carried on his antipathy to the *dhakuns* (witches) of Harouti, who were always submitted to the process by 'water.' Trial by ordeal is of very ancient date in India: it was by 'fire' that Rama proved the purity of Seeta, after her abduction by Ravana, and in the same manner as practised by one of our Saxon kings, by making her walk over a red-hot ploughshare. Besides the two most common tests, by fire and water, there is a third, that of washing the hands in boiling oil. It should be stated, that, in all cases, not only the selection but the appeal to any of these ordeals is the voluntary act of the litigants, and chiefly after the Punchaets, or courts of arbitration, have failed. Where justice is denied, or bribery shuts the door, the sufferer will dare his adversary to the *sogun*, or submission to the judgment of God; and the solemnity of the appeal carries such weight, that it brings redress of itself, though cases do occur where the challenge is accepted, and the Author has conversed with individuals who have witnessed the operation of each of the ordeals.

Punchaets.—The Punchaets arbitrate in civil cases. From these courts of equity, there is an appeal to the Raja; but as unanimity is required in the judges, and a fee or fine must be paid by the appellant, ere his case can come before the prince,

* The Rajpoots and Hindus in general hold precisely the same idea, of the cause of eclipses, as the Gete of Scandinavia.

† *Chandra-ma.* The moon is represented by silver, which is called after her (or him) *chandi.*

litigation is checked. The constitution of this court is simple. The plaintiff lays his case before his Hakim of the district, or the Patel of the village where he resides. The plaintiff and defendant have the right of naming the villages (two, each), from whence the members of the Punchaet are to be drawn. Information is accordingly sent to the Patels of the villages specified, who with their respective Patwarris. (Registers), meet at the *At'hae* 'village-court.' Witnesses are summoned and examined on oath, the most common of which is the *gadi-ca-an*, 'allegiance to the throne,' resembling the ancient adjuration of the Scythians as recorded by Herodotus. This oath is, however, more restricted to Rajpoots; the other classes have various forms based upon their religious notions. When the proceedings are finished, and judgment is given, the Hakim puts his seal thereto, and carries it into effect, or prepares it for appeal. It is affirmed that, in the good times of Rajpootana, these simple tribunals answered every purpose.

Fiscal Revenues.—The fiscal revenues of Marwar are derived from various sources; the principal are,

1st. "The *Khalisa*, or 'crown-lands;'
2nd. "The salt lakes;
3rd. "Transit and impost duties;
4th. "Miscellaneous taxes, termed *Hasil*."

The entire amount of personal revenue of the princes of Marwar does not at present exceed ten lakhs of rupees (£100,000 sterling), though in the reign of Beejy Sing, half a century ago, they yielded full sixteen lakhs, one-half of which arose from the salt lakes alone. The aggregate revenue of the feudal lands is estimated as high as fifty lakhs, or £500,000. It may be doubted whether at present they yield half this sum. The feudal contingents are estimated at five thousand horse, besides foot, the qualification being one cavalier and two foot-soldiers for every thousand rupees of income. This low estimate is to keep up the nominal value of estates, notwithstanding their great deterioration; for a 'knight's fee' of Marwar was formerly estimated at five hundred rupees.

The sum of ten lakhs, mentioned as the gross income of the prince, is what is actually realized by the treasury, for there are many public servants provided for out of the crown-land, whose estates are not included.

The revenues are collected from the ryots in kind. A corn-rent, the only one recognized in ancient India, and termed *Buttae*, or 'division,' is apportioned equally between the prince and the husbandman: a deviation from the more lenient practice of former times, which gave one-fourth, or one-sixth to the

sovereign. Besides this, the cultivator has to pay the expense of guarding the crops, and also those who attend the process of division. An assessment of two rupees is made on every ten maunds,* which more than covers the salaries paid to the *Shenahs* (watchmen), and *Kunwarris*,† and leaves a surplus divided by the Patel and village register (*Patwarri*). A cartload of *kurbi* (the stalks of *jooar* and *bajra*) is exacted from every cultivator as fodder for the prince's cattle; but this is commuted for a rupee, except in seasons of scarcity, when it is stored up. The other officers, as the Patwarris and Patels, are paid out of the respective shares of the farmer and the crown, *viz.*, one-fourth of a Seer each, from every Maund of produce, or an eightieth part of the gross amount. The cultivators of the *Pattawuts* or feudal chiefs, are much better off than those of the *Khalisa*: from them only two-fifths are exacted; and in lieu of all other taxes and charges, a land-tax of twelve rupees is levied on every hundred beeghas of land cultivated. The cultivators repay this mild assessment by attachment to the chiefs.

Angah is a poll-tax (from *anga* 'the body') of one rupee, levied on adults of either sex throughout Marwar.

Gasmali is a graduated tax on cattle, or, as the term imports, the right of pasture. A sheep or goat is estimated at one anna (one-sixteenth of a rupee); a buffalo eight annas, or half a rupee; and each camel, three rupees.

Kewari is a tax on doors (*kewar*), and is considered peculiarly oppressive. It was first imposed by Beejy Sing, when, towards the latter end of his reign, his chiefs rebelled, and retired in a body to Palli to concert schemes for deposing him. Thither he fruitlessly followed in order to pacify them, and on his return found the gates (*kewar*) of his capital shut in his face, and Bheem Sing placed upon the *gadi*. To supply the pecuniary exigencies consequent upon this embarrassing situation, he appealed to his subjects, and proposed a 'benevolence,' in aid of his necessities, of three rupees for each house, giving it a denomination from the cause whence it originated. Whether employed as a punishment of those who aided his antagonist, or as a convenient expedient of finance, he converted this temporary contribution into a permanent tax, which continued until the necessities of the confederacy against the present prince, Raja Maun, and the usurpation of the fiscal lands by the Pathans, made him raise it to ten rupees on each house. It is, however, not equally levied; the number of houses in each township being calculated, it is laid on according

* The Maund is about seventy-five lbs. weight.

† *Kun*, corn.

to the means of the occupants, and the poor man may pay two rupees, while the wealthy pays twenty. The feudal lands are not exempted, except in cases of special favour.

In estimating the amount of the *sayer*, or imposts of Marwar, it must be borne in mind that the schedule appended represents what they have been, and perhaps might again be rather than what they now are. These duties are subject to fluctuation in all countries, but how much more in those exposed to so many visitations from predatory foes, civil strife, and famine! There is no reason to doubt that, in the "good old times" of Maroo, the amount, as taken from old records, may have been realized:

Jodhpur.....Rs.	76,000
Nagore.....	75,000
Deedwanoh.....	10,000
Purbutsir.....	44,000
Mairta.....	11,000
Koleah.....	5,000
Jhalore.....	25,000
Palli.....	75,000
Jessole and Bhalotra fairs.....	41,000
Beenmahl.....	21,000
Sanchore.....	6,000
Filodi.....	41,000
TOTAL Rs.	4,30,000

The *Dhannis*, or collectors of the customs, have monthly salaries at the large towns, while the numerous petty agents are paid by a *percentage*, on the sums collected. The *sayer*, or imposts, include all those on grain, whether of foreign importation, or the home-grown, in transit from one district to another.

The revenue arising from the produce of the salt lakes has deteriorated with the land and commercial revenues; and, though affected by political causes, is yet the most certain branch of income. The following schedule exhibits what has been derived from this lucrative source of wealth:

Pachbhadra.....Rs.	2,00,000
Filodi.....	1,00,000
Deedwanoh.....	1,15,000
Sambhur.....	2,00,000
Nowah.....	1,00,000
TOTAL Rs.	7,15,000

crops, the peasant Jit, the ancient lord of the soil, is often left to the alternative of starvation or emigration. Many have consequently sought shelter in the British frontier territories, in Hansi and Heriana, where they are kindly received. Since the English have occupied Sirsah and the lands belonging to the Bhatti Bahader Khan, the misfortunes of the cultivators of the northern parts of Bikaneer have been doubled by the inroads of a band left without resource. In some parts, the Jits combine to protect themselves against these inroads: every hamlet has its post of defence, a tower of earth, on which is perched a watchman and kettle-drum, to beat the alarum, which is taken up from village to village, and when an enemy is discovered, all are in arms to defend their property. The unfortunate Jit is obliged to plough his fields under the load of shield and *sang*, or heavy iron lance; so that, at no distant period, the whole of this region must become as desolate as the tracts once possessed by the Johyas.*

Such, at the end of three hundred and twenty-three years, is the change which a Rajpoot usurper has effected in the once comparatively populous communities of the Jits. From the founder, Beeka, to the present tyrannical governor, there have been only eleven descents though thirteen reigns, giving an average of thirty years for the one, and twenty-five for the other: a fact which speaks forcibly for the general morality of the descendants of Beeka.

Before we enter on the physical aspect of the country, we must make mention of Beedavati, the lands of 'the sons of Beeda,' now an integral portion of Bikaneer. It will be borne in mind that Beeda, the brother of Beeka, led the first Rajpoot colony from Mundore, in search of a fresh establishment. His first attempt was in the province of Godwar, then belonging to the Rana: but his reception there was so warm, that he moved northward, and was glad to take service with the chief of the Mohils. This ancient tribe is by some termed a branch of the Yadus, but is by others considered a separate race, and one of the 'thirty-six royal races': all are agreed as to its antiquity. The residence of the Mohil chief was Chaupur, where, with the title of *Thakoor*, he ruled over one hundred and forty townships. Beeda deemed circumvention better than open force to effect his purposes; and as, according to the Rajpoot maxim, in all attempts 'to obtain land,' success hallows the means, he put in train a scheme which, as it affords the least cause for suspicion,

* While putting this to the press, rumour says that the chiefs of Bikaneer are in open rebellion against the Raja, who has applied, but without success, to the British Government for support. This, if true, is as it should be.

has often been used for this object. Beeda became the medium of a matrimonial arrangement between the Mohil chief and the prince of Marwar; and as the relation and natural guardian of the bride, he conveyed the nuptial train unsuspected into the castle of the Mohils, whose chiefs were assembled to honour the festivities. But, instead of the Rahtore fair and her band of maidens, the valorous sons of Joda rushed sword in hand from the litters and covered vehicles, and treacherously cut off the best men of Mohilla. They kept possession of the inner fortress until tidings of their success brought reinforcements from Jodhpur. For this aid, Beeda assigned to his father, Ladnoo and its twelve villages, now incorporated with Jodhpur. The son of Beeda, Tez Sing, laid the foundation of a new capital, which he called after his father, Beedasir. The community of the Beedawuts is the most powerful in Bikaneer, whose prince is obliged to be satisfied with almost nominal marks of supremacy, and to restrict his demands, which are elsewhere unlimited. The little region of the Mohillas, around the ancient capital Chaupur, is an extensive flat, flooded in the periodical rains from the surrounding *teebas* or 'sand-hills,' the soil of which is excellent, even wheat being abundantly produced. This *Oasis*, as it is entitled to be termed, may be twenty-five miles (twelve Coss) in extreme length, by about six in breadth. We cannot affirm that the entire Beedawut district of one hundred and forty villages, and to which is assigned a population of forty thousand to fifty thousand souls, one-third being Rahtores, 'the sons of Beeda' is within this flat. It is sub-divided into twelve fiefs, of which five are pre-eminent. Of the ancient possessors, the indigenous Mohils, there are not more than twenty families throughout the land of Mohilla; the rest are chiefly Jit agriculturists and the mercantile castes.

We do the sons of Beeda no injustice when we style them a community of plunderers. Like the sons of Esau, "their hand is against everyman:" and they are too powerful to fear retaliation. In former times they used to unite with the Larkhanis another horde of robbers, and carry their raids into the most populous parts of Jeypur. In these habits, however, they only partake of the character common to all who inhabit desert regions. What nature has denied them, they wrest from those to whom she has been more bountiful. But it is to the absence of good government more than to natural sterility, that we must attribute the moral obliquity of the *Rajaputras*, "the offspring of regality," spread over these extensive regions, who little discriminate between *meum* and *tuum*, in all that refers to their neighbours.

CHAPTER II.

Actual condition and capabilities of Bikaneer.—Causes of its deterioration.—Extent.—Population.—Jits.—Saraswati Brahmins.—Charuns.—Mallis and Naes.—Chooras and Thaories.—Rajpoots.—Face of the country.—Grain and vegetable productions.—Implements of husbandry.—Water.—Salt lakes.—Local physiognomy.—Mineral productions.—Unctuous clay.—Animal productions.—Commerce and manufactures.—Fairs.—Government and revenues.—The fisc.—Dhooah, or hearth tax.—Anga, or capitation-tax.—Sayer, or imposts.—Pusaeti, or plough-tax.—Malbah, or ancient land-tax.—Extraordinary and irregular resources.—Feudal levies.—Household troops.

THIS region is but little known to Europeans, by whom it has hitherto been supposed to be a perfect desert, unworthy of examination. Its present condition bears little comparison with what tradition reports it to have been in ancient times; and its deterioration, within three centuries since the Rajpoots supplanted the Jits, almost warrants our belief of the assertion, that these deserts were once fertile and populous; nay, that they are still capable (notwithstanding the reported continual increase of the sand) to maintain an abundant population, there is little room to doubt. The princes of Bikaneer used to take the field at the head of ten thousand of their kindred retainers; and although they held extraordinary grants from the empire for the maintenance of these contingents, their ability to do so from their proper resources was undoubted. To other causes than positive sterility must be attributed the wretched condition of this state. Exposed to the continual attacks of organized bands of robbers from without subjected internally to the never-ending demands of a rapacious government, for which they have not a shadow of advantage in return, it would be strange if aught but progressive decay and wretchedness were the consequence. In three centuries, more than one-half of the villages, which either voluntarily or by force submitted to the rule of the founder, Beeka, are now without memorial of their existence, and the rest are gradually approximating to the same condition. Commercial caravans, which passed through this state and enriched its treasury with the transit duties, have almost ceased to frequent it from the increasing insecurity of its territory. Besides the personal loss to the prince, the country suffers from the deterioration of the commercial to-

of Chooru, Rajgurh, and Rinnie, which, as *entrepots*, supplied the country with the productions of Sinde and the provinces to the westward, or those of Gangetic India. Nor is this confined to Bikaneer; the same cause affects Jessulmeer, and the more eastern principalities, whose misgovernment, equally with Bikaneer, fosters the spirit of rapine: the Maldotes of Jessulmeer and the Larkhanis of Jeypur are as notorious as the Beedawuts of Bikaneer; and to these may be added the Sahraes, Khosas, and Rajurs, in the more western desert, who, in their habits and principles, are as demoralized as the Bedouins of Arabia.

Extent.—Population.—Soil.—Teebas or *Sand-hills.*—The line of greatest breadth of this state extends from Poogul to Rajgurh, and measures about one hundred and eighty miles; while the length from north to south, between Bhútnair and Mahajin, is about one hundred and sixty miles: the area may not exceed twenty-two thousand miles. Formerly they reckoned two thousand seven hundred towns, villages, and hamlets scattered over this space, one-half of which are no longer in existence.

An estimate of the population of this arid region, without presenting some data, would be very unsatisfactory. The tract to the north-west of Jaetpoor is now perfectly desolate, and nearly so from that point to Bhutnair; to the north-east, the population is but scanty, which observation also applies to the parts from the meridian of Bikaneer to the Jessulmeer frontier; while internally, from these points, it is more uniform, and equals the northern parts of Marwar. From a census of the twelve principal towns, with an estimate, furnished by well-informed inhabitants, of the remainder, we may obtain a tolerably accurate approximation on this point:

Chief Towns.	No. of Houses.
Bikaneer	12,000
Nohur	2,500
Bahaderar	2,500
Rinnie	1,500
Rajgurh	3,000
Chooru	3,000
Mahajin	800
Jaetpoor	1,000
Beedasir	500
Ruttungurh	1,000
Daismookh	1,000
Senthal	50
Carried over	28,850

	Brought forward	28,850
100 villages, each having	200 houses	20,000
100 Ditto	150 ditto	15,000
200 Ditto	100 ditto	20,000
800 hamlets	30 each	24,000
	TOTAL number of houses	107,250

Allowing five souls to each house, we have a total of 539,250 souls, giving an average of twenty-five to the square mile, which I cannot think exaggerated, and making the desert regions depending on Bikaneer equal, in the density of population, the highlands of Scotland.

Of this population, full three-fourths are the aboriginal Jits; the rest are their conquerors, descendants of Beeka, including the Sarsote Brahmins, Charuns, Bards and a few of the debased classes, whose numbers, conjointly, are not one-tenth of the Rajpoots.

Jits.—The Jits are the most wealthy as well as the most numerous portion of the community. Many of the old Bhomia landlords, representatives of their ancient communal heads, are men of substance; but their riches are of no use to them, and to avoid the rapacity of their government, they cover themselves with the cloak of poverty, which is thrown aside only on nuptial festivities. On these occasions they disinter their hoards, which are lavished with unbounded extravagance. They even block up the highways to collect visitors, whose numbers form the measure of the liberality and munificence of the donor of the *fete*.

Sarsote (properly *Sarasvati*) Brahmins are found in considerable numbers throughout this tract. They aver that they were masters of the country prior to the Jit colonists They are a peaceable, industrious race, and without a single prejudice of 'the order'; they eat meat, smoke tobacco, cultivate the soil, and trade even in the sacred kine, notwithstanding their descent from Singiricsha, son of Brahma.

Charuns.—The Charuns are the sacred order of these regions; the warlike tribes esteem the heroic lays of the bard more than the homily of the Brahmin. The Charuns are throughout reverenced by the Rahtores, and hold lands, literally, on the tenure of 'an old song.' More will be said of them in the Annals of Jessulmeer.

Mallis, Naes, gardeners and barbers are important members of every Rajpoot family, and to be found in all the villages, of which they are invariably the cooks.

Chooras, Thaoris, are actually castes of robbers: the former, from the Lakhi Jungle; the latter, from Mewar. Most of

the chieftains have a few in their pay, entertained for the most desperate services. The Bahaderan chief has expelled all his Rajpoots, and retains only Chooras and Thaoris. The Chooras are highly esteemed for fidelity, and the barriers and portals throughout this tract are in their custody. They enjoy a very singular perquisite, which would go far to prove their being the aborigines of the country; namely, a fee of four copper coins on every dead subject, when the funeral ceremonies are over.

Rajpoots.—The Rahtores of Bikaneer are unchanged in their martial qualifications, bearing as high a reputation as any other class in India; and whilst their brethren of Marwar, Amber, and Mewar, have been for years groaning under the rapacious visitations of Mahrattas and Pat'hans, their distance and the difficulties of the country have saved them from such afflictions: though, in truth, they have had enough to endure at home, in the tyranny of their own lord. The Rahtores of the desert have fewer prejudices than their more eastern brethren; they will eat food, without enquiring by whom it was dressed, and will drink either wine or water, without asking to whom the cup belonged. They would make the best soldiers in the world if they would submit to discipline, as they are brave, hardy, easily satisfied, and very patient; though, on the other hand, they have imbibed some qualities, since their migration to these regions, which could only be eradicated in the rising generation: especially the inordinate use of opium, and smoking intoxicating herbs, in both which accomplishments 'the sons of Beeka' are said to bear the palm from the rest of the *Chatees rajcula*, the thirty-six royal tribes of India. The *piala*, or 'cup,' is a favourite with every Rajpoot who can afford it, and is, as well as opium, a panacea for *ennui*, arising from the absence of all mental stimulants, in which they are more deficient, from the nature of the country, than most of their warlike countrymen.

Face of the country.—The whole of this principality, with the exception of a few isolated spots, or *oases*, scattered here and there, consists more or less of sand. From the eastern to the western boundary, in the line of greatest breadth, it is one continuous plain of sand, though the *teebas*, or sand-hills, commence in the centre of the country, the principal chain running in the direction of Jessulmeer, and shooting forth subordinate branches in every direction; or it might be more correct to designate this main ridge, originating in the tracts bordering the eastern valley of the Indus, as terminating its elevations about the heart of

Bikaneer: On the north-east quarter, from Rajgurh to Nohur and Raotsir, the soil is good, being black earth, slightly mixed with sand, and having water near enough to the surface for irrigation; it produces wheat, gram, and even rice, in considerable quantities. The same soil exists from Bhutnair to the banks of the Garah. The whole of the Mohilla tract is a fertile *oasis*, the *teebas* just terminating their extreme offsets on its northern limit: being flooded in the periodical rains, wheat is abundantly produced.

But exclusive of such spots, which are "few and far between," we cannot describe the desert as a waste where "no salutary plant takes root, no verdure quickens"; for though the poverty of the soil refuses to aid the germination of the more luxuriant grains, Providence has provided a countervailing good, in giving to those it can rear a richness and superiority unknown to more favoured regions. The *bajra* of the desert is far superior to any grown in the rich loam of Malwa, and its inhabitant retains an instinctive partiality, even when admitted to revel in the luxurious repasts of Mewar or Amber, for the *bhawtis*, or 'bajra cakes,' of his native sand-hills, and not more from association than from their intrinsic excellence. In a plentiful season, they save enough for two years' consumption. The grain requires not much water, though it is of the last importance that this little should be timely.

Besides bajra, we may mention *mot'h* and *til*; the former a useful pulse both for men and cattle; the other the oil-plant, used both for culinary purposes and burning. Wheat, gram, and barley, are produced in the favoured spots described, but in these are enumerated the staple products of Bikaneer.

Cotton is grown in the tracts favourable for wheat. The plant is said to be septennial, even decennial, in these regions. As soon as the cotton is gathered, the shoots are all cut off, and the root alone left. Each succeeding year, the plant increases in strength, and at length attains a size unknown where it is more abundantly cultivated.

Nature has bountifully supplied many spontaneous vegetable products for the use of man, and excellent pasture for cattle. *Gowar*, *Katchri*, *Kukree*, all of the cucurbitaceous family, and water-melons of a gigantic size, are produced in great plenty. The latter is most valuable; for being cut in slices and dried in the sun, it is stored up for future use when vegetables are scarce, or in times of famine, on which they always calculate. It is also an article of commerce, and much admired even where vegetables are more abundant. The copious mucilage of the dried melon is extremely nourishing; and deem-

ing it valuable as an antiscorbutic in sea-voyages, the Author sent some of it to Calcutta many years ago for experiment.* Our Indian ships would find no difficulty in obtaining a plentiful supply of this article, as it can be cultivated to any extent, and thus be made to confer a double benefit, on our seamen and the inhabitants of those desert regions. The superior magnitude of the water-melons of the desert over those of interior India gives rise to much exaggeration, and it has been gravely asserted by travellers in the sand *teebas*,† where they are most abundant, that the mucilage of one is sufficient to allay the thirst both of a horse and his rider.

In these arid regions, where they depend entirely on the heavens for water, and where they calculate on a famine every seventh year, nothing that can administer to the wants of man is lost. The seeds of the wild grapes, as the *bhoorut*, *buroo*, *herraro*, *sewun*, are collected, and, mixed with *bajra*-flour, enter much into the food of the poorer classes. They also store up great quantities of the wild *ber*, *khyr*, and *kharil* berries; and the long pods of the *kaijra* astringent and bitter as they are, are dried and formed into a flour. Nothing is lost in these regions which can be converted into food.

Trees they have none indigenous (mangoes and tamarind are planted about the capital), but abundant shrubs, as the *babool*, and ever-green *peeloo*, the *jhal*, and others yielding berries. The Beedawuts, indeed, apply the term 'tree,' to the *roeura*, which sometimes attains the height of twenty feet, and is transported to all parts for house-building; as likewise is the *nima*, so well known throughout India. The *phok* is the most useful of all these, as with its twigs they frame a wicker-work to line their wells, and prevent the sand from falling in.

The *ák*, a species of euphorbia, known in Hindustan as the *madar*, grows to an immense height and strength in the desert; from its fibres they make the ropes in general use throughout these regions, and they are reckoned superior, both in substance and durability, to those formed of *moonj* (hemp), which is, however, cultivated in the lands of the Beedawuts.

Their agricultural implements are simple and suited to the soil. The plough is one of single yoke, either for the camel or ox: that with double yoke being seldom required, or chiefly by the *mallis* (gardeners), when the soil is of some consistence. The drill is invariably used, and the grains are dropped singly

* I sent specimens to Mr. Moorcroft so far back as 1813, but never learned the result.—See Article "On the Preservation of Food," Edin. Review, No. 45, p. 115.

† Mr. Barrow, in his valuable work on Southern Africa, describes the water-melon as self-sown and abundant.

into the ground, at some distance from each other, and each sends forth a dozen to twenty stalks. A bundle of bushes forms their harrow. The grain is trodden out by oxen; and the *mot'h* (pulse), which is even more productive than the *bajra*, by camels.

Water.—*This indispensable element* is at an immense distance from the surface throughout the Indian desert, which, in this respect, as well as many others, differs very materially from that portion of the great African Desert in the same latitudes. Water at twenty-feet, as found at Mourzook by Capt. Lyon, is here unheard-of, and the degree of cold experienced by him at Zuela, on the winter solstice, would have "burnt up" every natural and cultivated production of our Hindu Seharra. Captain Lyon describes the thermometer in lat. 26°, within 2° of zero of Reaumur. Majors Denham and Clapperton never mark it under 40° of Fahrenheit, and mention ice, which I never saw but once, the thermometer being 28°; and then not only the mouths of our *mushiks*, or 'water-skins,' were frozen, but a small pond, protected from the wind (I heard, for I saw it not), exhibited a very thin pellicle of ice. When at 30° the cold was deemed intense by the inhabitants of Maroo in the tracts limiting the desert, and the useful *ák*, and other shrubs, were scorched and withered; and in north lat. 25°, the thermometer being 28°, desolation and woe spread throughout the land. To use their own phrase, the crops of gram and other pulses were completely "burnt up, as if scorched by the lightnings of heaven;" while the sun's meridian heat would raise it 50° more, or up to 80°, a degree of variability at least not recorded by Captain Lyon.

At Daisnokh, near the capital, the wells are more than two hundred cubits, or three hundred feet, in depth; and it is rare that water fit for man is found at a less distance from the surface than sixty, in the tracts decidedly termed *thul*, or 'desert:' though some of the flats, or *oases*, such as that of Mohilla, are exceptions, and abundance of brackish water, fit for cattle, is found throughout at half this depth, or about thirty feet. All the wells are lined with basket-work made of *phok* twigs, and the water is generally drawn up by hand-lines.*

* Water is sold, in all the large towns, by the *mallis*, or 'gardeners,' who have the monopoly of this article. Most families have large cisterns or reservoirs, called *tankas*, which are filled in the rainy season. They are of masonry, with a small trap-door at the top, made to exclude the external air, and having a lock and key affixed. Some large *tankas* are established for the community, and I understand this water keeps sweet for eight and twelve months' consumption.

Sirr, or 'salt lakes.'—There are a few salt lakes, which throughout the whole of the Indian desert, are termed *sirr* though none are of the same consequence as those of Marwar The largest is at the town of Sirr, so named after the lake which is about six miles in circumference. There is another at Chaupur about two miles in length, and although each of them frequently contains a depth of four feet of water, this entirely evaporates in the hot winds, leaving a thick sheet of saline incrustation. The salt of both is deemed of inferior quality to that of the more southerly lakes.

Physiognomy of the country.—There is little to vary the physiognomy of this region, and small occasion to boast either of its physical or moral beauties ; yet, strange to say, I have met with many whose love of country was stronger than their perceptions of abstract veracity, who would dwell on its perfections, and prefer a mess of *rabri*, or porridge made of *bajra*, to the greater, delicacies of more civilized regions. To such, the *teebas*, or 'sand-ridges,' might be more important than the Himalaya, and their diminutive and scanty brushwood might eclipse the gigantic foliage of this huge barrier. Verdure itself may be abhorrent to eyes accustomed to behold only arid sands; and a region without *tofans* or 'whirlwinds ;' or armies of locusts rustling like a tempest, and casting long shadows on the lands, might be deemed by the prejudiced, deficient in the true sublime. Occasionally the sand-stone formation rises above the surface, resembling a few low isolated hills ; and those who dwell on the boundaries of Nagore, if they have a love of more decided elevations than their native sand-hills afford, may indulge in a distant view of the terminations of the Aravulli.

Mineral productions.—The mineral productions of this country are scanty. They have excellent quarries of freestone in several parts, especially at Husairah, thirteen Coss to the north-east of the capital, which yield a small revenue estimated at two thousand rupees annually. There are also copper mines at Beerumsir and Beedasir ; but the former does not repay the expense of working, and the latter, having been worked for thirty years, is nearly exhausted.

An unctuous clay is excavated from a pit, near Kolath, in large quantities, and exported as an article of commerce, besides adding fifteen hundred rupees annually to the treasury. It is used chiefly to free the skin and hair from impurities, and the Cutchie ladies are said to eat it to improve their complexions.

Animal productions.—The kine of the desert are highly esteemed ; as are the camels, especially those used for expedi-

n and the saddle, which bear a high price,* and are considered superior to any in India. They are beautifully formed, and the head possesses much blood and symmetry. Sheep are reared in great abundance, and find no want of food in the excellent grasses and shrubs which abound. The *phok*, *jowas*, and other prickly shrubs, which are here indigenous, form the dainties of the camel in other regions. The Nilgae, or elk, and deer of every kind, are plentiful ; and the fox of the desert is a beautiful little animal. Jackals and hyænas are not scarce, and even lions are by no means unknown in Bikaneer.

Commerce and Manufactures.—Rajgurh was the great commercial mart of this country, and the point of *rendezvous* for caravans from all parts. The produce of the Punjab and Cashmere came formerly direct by Hansi-Hisar,—that of the eastern countries by Delhi, Rewari, Dadri, &c., consisting of silks, fine cloths, indigo, sugar, iron, tobacco, &c., from Harouti and Malwa came opium, which supplied all the R[illegible]t states; from Sinde, *via* Jessulmeer, and by caravans from [illegible]ltan and Shikarpoor, dates, wheat, rice, *loongees* (silk [illegible]nts for women), fruits, &c. ; from Palli, the imports from [illegible]naritime countries, as spices, tin, drugs, coco-nuts, elephants' t[illegible]th &c. Much of this was for internal consumption, but the [illegible]reater part a mere transit trade, which yielded considerable re[illegible]nue.

Woollens.—The wool of the sheep pastured [illegible]n the desert is, however, the staple commodity both of manufacture and trade in this region. It is worked into every [illegible]rticle of dress, both male and female, and worn by all, rich [illegible]nd poor. It is produced from the loom, of every texture and quality, from the coarse *looie* or 'blanket,' at three rupees per pair (six shillings), to thirty rupees. The quality of these latter is very fine, of an intermediate texture between the shawl and camlet, and without any nap : it is always bordered with a stripe of chocolate brown or red. Of this quality are the *do-patis* or 'scarfs' for the ladies. Turbans are also manufactured of it, and though frequently from forty to sixty-one feet in length, such is the fineness of the web, that they are not bulky on the head.

From the milk of the sheep and goats as well as kine, *Ghi* or 'clarified butter' is made, and forms an important article of trade.

Manufactures in iron.—The Bikaneeris work [illegible]ll in iron and have shops at the capital and all the large towns for the manufacture of sword-blades, matchlocks, daggers, [illegible]on lances, &c. The sword-handles which are often inlaid with variegated

* One thousand rupees have been given for one : one hundred is the average value.

steel, or burnished, are in high request, and exported to various parts of India. They have also expert artists in ivory, though the articles are chiefly such as are worn by females, as *choors*, or 'bracelets.'

Coarse cotton cloths, for internal consumption, are made in considerable quantities.

Fairs.—Annual fairs were held, in the months of Kartik and Phalgoon, at the towns of Kolath and Gujnair, and frequented by the merchants of the adjacent countries. They were celebrated for cattle, chiefly the produce of the desert, camels, kine, and horses from Mooltan and the Lakhi Jungle, a breed now almost extinct. These fairs have lost all their celebrity: in fact, commerce in these regions is extinct.

Government revenues.—The personal revenues of the Raja were derived from a variety of sources: from the *Khalisa* or 'crown lands' imposts, taxes on agriculture, and that compulsory [illegible] which makes up the deficiencies in all oriental governments, or 'contribution.' But with all these "appliances to boot," the civil list of this desert king seldom exceeds five lakhs of rupees, or about £50,000 per annum. The lands of the feudality are more extensive proportionally in this region than in any other in Rajpootana, arising out of the original settlement, when the Beedawuts and Kandulotes, whose just acquisitions exceeded those of Beeka, would not admit his right to hold lands in their territory, and made but a slight pecuniary acknowledgment of his supremacy. The districts in which the crown lands lie are Rajgurh, Rinnie, Nohur, Garib, Rungurh, Rannian, and more recently Chooru.

The following are the items of the revenue:—1st. *Khalisa*, or fiscal lands; 2nd. *Dhooah*; 3rd. *Angah*; 4th. Town and transit duties; 5th. *Jureti*, or 'plough-tax'; 6th. *Malbah*.

1st. The *fisc*. Formerly this branch of revenue yielded two lakhs of rupees; but with progressive superstition and prodigality, the Raja has alienated almost two-thirds of the villages from which the revenue was drawn. These amounted to two hundred, now they do not exceed eighty, and their revenue is no more than one lakh of rupees. Soorut Sing is guided only by caprice; his rewards are uniform, no matter for service or the object, whether a Brahmin or a cameleer. The *Khalisa* is the only source which he considers as merely a life-interest in. To supply the deficiencies, he has direct recourse to the pockets of his subjects.

2nd. *Dhooah* may be rendered hearth-tax, though literally it is a smoke (*dhooah*) tax. All must eat; food must be dressed; and as they have neither chimneys nor glass windows on which to lay the tax, Soorut Sing's chancellor of the

exchequer makes the smoke pay a transit duty ere it gets vent fro the various orifices of the edifice. It only amounts to on rupee on each house or family, but would form an impor- t item if not evaded by the powerful chiefs: still it yields a kh of rupees. The town of Mahajin, which was settled on Ruttun Sing, son of Raja Noonkurn, on the resignation of is right of primogeniture and succession, enjoys exemption fro this tax. It is less liable to fluctuation than other taxes, for if a village becomes half-deserted, those who remain are salled with the whole. *Dhóoah* is only known to the two w n states, Bikaneer and Jessulmeer.

3rd. *Angah.* This is not a capitation but a *body* tax (from *a n* the body), and was established by Raja Anop Sing. It ght almost be termed a property-tax, since it embraced quadrupeds as well as bipeds of every sex and age, and was aduated according to age and sex in the human species, and cording to utility in the brute. Each male adult was assessed e *angah*, fixed at four annas (about sixpence), and cows, oxen, ffaloes, were placed upon a level with the lord of the creation. en goats or sheep were estimated as one *angah*; but camel as equivalent to four *angahs*, or one rupee, which Raja Guj- ng doubled. This tax, which is by far the most certain in a ountry, perhaps still more pastoral than agricultural, is most providently watched, and though it has undergone many hanges since it was originally imposed, it yet yields annually ow lakhs of rupees.

4th. *Sayer*, or 'imposts.' This branch is subject to much luctuation, and has diminished greatly since the reign of Soorut Sing. The duties levied in the capital alone formerly exceeded what is collected throughout the whole of his domini- ons; being once estimated at above two lakhs, and now under one. Of this amount, half is collected at Rajgurh, the chief commercial mart of Bikaneer. The dread of the *Rahts*, who have cut off the communications with the Punjab, and the want of principle within, deter merchants from visiting this state, and he caravans from Mooltan, Bhawulpoor, and Shikarpoor, which passed through Bikaneer to the eastern states, have nearly abandoned the route. The only duties of which he is certain are those on grain, of four rupees on every hundred maunds sold or exported, and which, according to the average sale price f these regions, may be about two per cent.

5th. *Pusaeti* is a tax of five rupees on every plough used agriculture. It was introduced by Raja Rae Sing, in com- utation of the corn-tax, or levy in kind, which had long been stablished at one fourth of the gross produce. The Jits were g d to compound, and get rid of the agents of corruption, by

the substitution of the plough-tax. It formerly yielded two lakhs of rupees, but with decreasing agriculture has fallen, like every other source, to a little more than one-half, but still yields a lakh and a quarter.

6th. *Malbah* is the name of the original tax which the Jit communities imposed upon themselves, when they submitted to the sway in perpetuity of Beeka and his successors. It is the land-tax* of two rupees on each hundred beegas of land cultivated in Bikaneer. It is now unproductive, not realizing fifty thousand rupees, and it is said that a composition has been effected, by which it has been, or will be, relinquished: if so, Soorut Sing gives up the sole legitimate source of revenue he possesses.

Recapitulation.

1st.	Khalisa, or fisc†		1,00,000
2nd.	Dhooah		1,00,000
3rd.	Angah		2,00,000
4th.	Sayer, imposts‡		75,000
5th.	Pusaeti, plough-tax		1,25,000
6th.	Malbah, land-tax		50,000
	TOTAL		6,50,000

Besides this, the fullest amount arising to the prince from annual taxation, there are other items which occasionally replenish the treasury of Soorut Sing.

**Mal* is the term for land which has no irrigation but from the heavens.

			Rs.
†Nohur district ...	... 84 villages.	Revenue ...	1,00,000
Rinnie	... 24 ditto	... ...	10,000
Raniah	... 44 ditto	... ...	20,000
Jalloli	... 1 ditto	... ...	5,000
	TOTAL original Fiscal Lands.		1,35,000

since Rajgurh, Chooru and other places recovered.

‡ Impost Duties in old times, *viz.*,

	Rs.
Town of Noonkurn	2,000
Rajgurh	10,000
Shekhsir	5,000
Capital—Bikaneer	75,000
From Chooru and other towns	45,000
	1,37,000

Dhatoie is a triennial tax of five rupees levied on each plough. It was instituted by Raja Zoorawur Sing. The whole country is liable to it, with the exception of fifty villages in Asiagati, and seventy of the Beniwals, conditionally exempted, to guard the borders. It is now frequently evaded by the feudal chieftains, and seldom yields a lakh of rupees.

In addition to these specific expedients, there are many arbitrary methods of increasing the "ways and means" to satisfy the necessities or avarice of the present ruler, and a train of dependent harpies who prey upon the cultivating peasantry, or industrious trader. By such shifts, Soorut Sing has been known to double his fixed revenue.

Dind Khooshali.—The terms *Dind* and *Khooshali*, though etymologically the antipodes of other,—the first meaning a 'compulsory contribution,' the other a 'benevolence, or voluntary,*—have a similar interpretation in these regions, and make the subjects of those parts devoutly pray that their prince's house may be one rather of mourning than rejoicing, and that defeat rather than victory may be attendant on his arms.

The term *Dind* is coeval with Hindu legislation. The bard Chund describes it, and the chronicler of the life of the great Sidraj of Anhulwarra, "who expelled the seven *Diddas*," or 'great evils,' whose initial letter was *d*, enumerates *dind* as one of them, and places it with the *Dholis* and *Dhakuns*, or minstrels and witches, giving it precedence amongst the seven plagues which his ancestors and tyrant custom had inflicted on the subject. Unhappily, there is no Sidraj to legislate for Rajpootana; and were there fourteen *Diddas* by which Soorut Sing could swell his budget, he would retain them all for the oppression of the impoverished Jits, who, if they could, would be happy to expel the letter S from amongst them. But it is from the chieftain, the merchant, and the banker, that the chief sums are realized; though indirectly the poor peasant contributes his share. There are fourteen collectors of *Dind* one to every *cheera* or division, and these are furnished with arbitrary schedules according to the circumstances, actual or supposed, of each individual. So unlimited are these exactions, that the chief of Gundaili for two years offered the collector of his quarter ten thousand rupees if he would guarantee him against any further demand during even twelve months; and being refused, he turned the collector out, shut the gates of his castle, and boldly bid his master defiance.

* *Khoosh* means 'happiness, pleasure, volition':—'*ap ca khooshi*,' 'at your pleasure.'

One of his expedients to levy a *khooshali*, or 'benevolence,' is worth relating: it was on the termination of his expedition against Bhutnair, which added this celebrated desert and castle to his territory, and in which he was attended by the entire feudal army of Bikaneer. On his return, "flushed with conquest," he demanded from each house throughout his dominions the sum of ten rupees to cover the expenses of the war. If the tyrant-ridden subjects of Soorut Sing thus *rejoice* in his successes, how must they feel for his defeats! To them both are alike ominous, when every artifice is welcomed, every villany practised, to impoverish them. Oppression is at its height, and must work out its own cure.

Feudal levies.—The disposable force of all these feudal principalities must depend on the personal character of the Raja. If Soorat Sing were popular, and the national emergencies demanded the assemblage of the *kher or levee en masee*, of the 'sons of Beeka,' he might bring ten thousand Rajpoots into the field, of whom twelve hundred might be good horse, besides the foreign troops and park; but under present circumstances, and the rapid deterioration of every branch of society, it may be doubted whether one-half could be collected under his standard.

The household troops consist of a battalion of foreign infantry, of five hundred men with five guns, and three squadrons of horse, about two hundred and fifty in number; all under foreign leaders. This is independent of the garrison of the capital, whose commandant is a Rajpoot of the Purihar tribe, who has twenty-five villages assigned for the payment of his troops.

Schedule exhibiting the Fiefs of Bikaneer.

Names of Chieftains.	Clans.	Places of Abode.	Revenue.	Retainers. Foot.	Retainers. Horse.	REMARKS.
Beri Sal	Beeko ...	Mahajin ...	40,000	5,000	100	One hundred and forty villages attached to this fief, settled on the heir of aja Noonkurn, who consequently forfeited the *gaadi*.
Abhe Sing	Benirote ...	Bookurko ...	25,000	5,000	25	The first of the fiefs of Bikaneer.
Anop Sing	Beeko ...	Jessanoh ...	5,000	40	300	
Paim Sing	Do. ...	Baie ...	5,000	40	300	
Chyn Sing	Benirote ...	Sawoh ...	20		200	
Himmut Sing ...	Raot ...	Raotsir ...				
Seo Sing	Benirote ...	Chooru ...			2,000	One hundred and forty *Kotties* (families lit. *chambers*) of this class.
Omed Sing ...	Beedawut	Bedasir				
Jaet Sing ...		Saondwa				
Buhader Sing ...		Maynsir		000	500	
Sooraj Mull ...	Narnoie	Teandesir				
Gomaun Sing ...		Kattur		500	125	
Attie Sing ...		Kootchore				
Shere Sing	Naiiote ...	Neembaje ...	5,0	5,000	400	
Davee Sing		Seedmook				
Omeid Sing ...	Naiiote	Kurripoora				
Soortan Sing ...		Ajeetpoora	20,0	150	30	
Kurrni Dan ...		Beasir		200	100	These two fefs are held by foreign nobles of the house of Amber, and the ancient Pramara, (*vulg.* Powar).
Soortan Sing	Cutchwaha ...	Nynawass ...		200	50	
Puddum Sing	Powar ...	Jaetsisir ...				
Kishen Sing	Beeko ...	Hyadesir ...				
				36,850	4,370	
		Carried forward	2,69,			

Schedule exhibiting the Fief of Bikaneer,—concluded.

Names of Chieftains.	Clans.	Places of Abode.	Revenue.	Retainers. Foot.	Retainers. Horse.	Remarks.
		Brought forward	2,			
Rao Sing	Bhatti ...	Poogul* ...	...00	36,850	4,370	
Sooltan Sing	Do. ...	Rajasir ...		1,500	40	The fief of Poogul was wrested from the Bhattis of Jessulmeer.
Lukteer Sing	Do. ...	Kanair ...				
Kurnie Sing	Do. ...	Sutasir ...		...00		
Bhom Sing	Do. ...	Chuckurr... ...			75	
Four Chieftains, † *viz.*					9	
1. Bhonni Sing ...	Bhatti ...	Beetchnok ...			4	
2. Zalim Sing ...	Do. ...	Gurrialah ...	1,			
3. Sirdar Sing ...	Do. ...	Soorjerah ...	800		6	
4. Kaet Sing ...	Do. ...	Rundisir ...	600		4	
Chund Sing... ...	Kurrumsaut ...	Nokho ...	11,000	1,...	2	
					2	
					...	Twenty-seven villages dependent on this family from Jodhpur, and settled here eleven years.
Sutti Dan	Roopawut ...	Badilah ...	5,000	200	25	
Bhom Sing	Bhatti ...	Jangloo ...	2,500	400	9	
Kaitsi	Do. ...	Jaminsir ...	15,000	500	150	Twenty- illages.
Issree Sing	Mundilah ...	Saroonda ...	11,000	2,000	150	
Puddum Sing ...	Bhatti ...	Koodsoo ...	1,500	60	4	
Kullian Sing ...	Do. ...	Naineah ...	1,000	40	2	
		TOTAL ...	331,400	43,57 2	5,402	

* Poogul Putta. † These chiefs are called Sirdars of Khari Putta, one of the original conquests of the founder, Beeka...

If ever the whole feudal array of Bikaneer amounted to this, it would assuredly be found difficult now, were the *ban* proclaimed, to assemble one-fourth of this number.

Foreign Troops.

	Horse.	Foot.	Guns
Sooltan Khan ...	—	200	—
Anokha Sing, Sikh ...	—	250	—
Boodh Sing Dewarah	—	200	—
Doorjun Sing's Battalion	700	4	4
Gunga Sing's Battalion	1,000	25	6
TOTAL FOREIGNERS...	1,700	679	10
Park	...	...	21
	1,700	679	31

CHAPTER III.

Bhutnair, its origin and denomination.—Historical celebrity of the Jits of Bhutnair.—Emigration of Bersi.—Succeeded by Bhiroo.—Embraces Islamism.—Rao Duleech.—Hosein Khan, Hosein Mahmood, Emam Mahmood, and Buhader Khan.—Zabta Khan, the present ruler.—Condition of the country.—Changes in its physical aspect.—Ruins of ancient buildings.—Promising scene for archæological inquiries.—Zoological and botanical curiosities.—List of the ancient towns.—Relics of the arrow-head character found in the Desert.

BHUTNAIR, which now forms an integral part of Bikaneer, was anciently the chief abode of another Jit community, so powerful as at one time to provoke the vengeance of kings, and at others to succour them when in distress. It is asserted that its name is in no wise connected with the Bhattis who colonized it, but derived from the Bardai, or Bhat, of a powerful prince, to whom the lands were granted, and who, desirous to be the founder of a poetic dynasty, gave his professional title to the abode. In the annals of Jessulmeer, it will be seen that there is another story accounting for the appellation, which recalls the founding of Carthage or Byrsa. Both legends are improbable ; and the Bhatti annals confirm what might have been assumed without suspicion, that to a colony of this race Bhutnair owes its name, though not its existence. The whole of the northern part is called Nair in the ancient geographical nomenclature of Maroosthali ; and when some of the Bhatti clans became proselytes to Islam, they changed the vowel *a* to *u*, to distinguish them from the parent stock, *viz.*, Bhatti for Bhutti. We shall, however, furnish evidence by and bye, in the annals of the original race, that in all probability the Yadu-Bhatti is the original Yuti colony from Central Asia ; and that "the Jit prince of Saipoor," whose inscription is in the first volume of this work, was the predecessor of these very races.

Neither the tract depending on Bhutnair, nor that north of it to the Garah river, presented formerly the scene of absolute desolation they now exhibit, and I shall append a list of towns, to which a high antiquity is assigned, whose vestiges still remain, and from which something might perhaps be gleaned to confirm or overturn these deductions.

Bhutnair has attained great historical celebrity from its position, being in the route of invasion from Central Asia to India. It is more than probable that the Jits, who resisted the advance of Mahmood of Ghizni in a naval warfare on the Indus, had long before that period established themselves in the desert as well as in the Punjab ; and as we find them occupying a place amongst the thirty-six royal tribes, we may infer that they had political power many centuries before that conqueror. In A. D. 1205, only twelve years after the conquest of India by Shabudin, his successor, Kootub, was compelled to conduct the war in person against the Jits of the northern desert, to prevent their wresting the important post of Hansi from the empire; and when the unfortunate and intrepid queen Rizzia, the worthy heiress of the great Feroz, was compelled to abandon her throne to an usurper, she sought and found protection amongst the Jits, who, with their Scythic brethren, the Ghikers, assembled all their forces and marched, with their queen at their head, like Tomyris of old, to meet her foes. She was not destined to enjoy the same revenge, but gained a glorious death in the attempt to overturn the Salic law of India.* Again, in A. D. 1397, when Timoor invaded India, Bhutnair was attacked for "having distressed him exceedingly on his invasion of Mooltan," when he "in person scoured the country, and cut off a tribe of banditti called Jits." In short, the Bhuttis and Jits were so intermingled, that distinction was impossible. Leaving this point, therefore, to be adjusted in the annals of the Bhattis, we proceed to sketch the history of the colony which ruled Bhutnair when subjugated by the Rahtores.

It was shortly after Timoor's invasion, that a colony of Bhattis migrated from Marote and Phoolra, under their leader Bersi, and assaulted and captured Bhutnair from a Mahomedan chief ; but whether one of Timoor's officers, or a dependent of Delhi, remains unknown, though most probably the former. His name, Chigat Khan, almost renders this certain, and they must have made a proper name out of his tribe, Chagitai, of which he was a noble. This Khan had conquered Bhutnair from the Jits, and had acquired a considerable territory, which the Bhatti colony took advantage of his return to invade and conquer. Sixteen generations have intervened since this event, which bringing it to the period of Timoor's invasion, furnishes an additional reason for concluding the Khan of Bhutnair to have been one of his nobles, whom he may have left entrusted with this important point of communication, should he meditate further intercourse with India.

* I presented to Mr. Marsden a unique coin of this ill-fated queen.

Bersi ruled twenty-seven years, and was succeeded by his son, Bhiroo, when the sons of Chigat Khan, obtaining aid from the Delhi monarch, invaded Bhutnair, and were twice repulsed with great loss. A third army succeeded; Bhutnair was invested and reduced to great straits, when Bhiroo hung out a flag of truce, and offered to accept any conditions which would not compromise his castle. Two were named:—to embrace Islamism, or seal his sincerity by giving his daughter to the king. He accepted the first alternative, and from that day, in order to distinguish these proselytes, they changed the name of Bhatti to Bhutti. Six chiefs intervened between Bhiroo and

Rae Duleech, surnamed Hyat Khan, from whom Rae Sing of Bikaneer wrested Bhutnair, and Futtehabad became the future residence of the Bhutti Khans. He was succeeded by

Hosein Khan (the grandson of Hyat), who recaptured Bhutnair, from Raja Sujawun Sing, and it was maintained during the time of Hosein Mahmoud and Emam Mahmoud, until Soorut Sing made the final conquest of it from Buhader Khan, father to the present titular head of the Bhuttis,*

Zabta Khan, who resides at Raniah, having about twenty-five villages dependent thereon.† Raniah was founded by Rae Sing of Bikaneer, and named after his queen (*Rani*), to whom it was assigned. It was taken by Emam Mahmoud. The Bhutti Khan is now a robber by profession, and his revenues, which are said to have sometimes amounted to three lakhs of rupees, are exorted by the point of his lance. These depredations are carried to frightful extent, and the poor Jits are kept eternally on the alert to defend their property. The proximity of the British territory preventing all incursions to the eastward, they are thrown back upon their original haunts, and make the whole of this northern region their prey. To this circumstance is attributed the desertion of these lands, which once reared cattle in abundance, and were highly valued. It is asserted that from the northern boundary of Bhutnair to the Garah, there are many tracts susceptible of high cultivation, having water near the surface, and many large spaces entirely free from *thul*, or 'sand hills.' To the drying up of the Hakra, or Caggar, many centuries ago, in conjunction with moral evils, is ascribed the existing desolation. According to tradition, this stream took a westerly direction, by Phoolra, where it is yet to

* In S. 1857 (A. D. 1801), the celebrated George Thomas, for the sum of three *lakhs*, put the Bhattis into the temporary possession of Bhutnair: but the succeeding year it was again taken from them by the Rahtores.

† This memoir was written in 1813-14, and may contain many inaccuracies, from its very remote situation, and the difficulty of obtaining correct information.

be traced, and fell into the Indus below Ootch. The couplet recording its absorption by the sands of *Nair*, has already been given, in the time of Rao Hamir, prince of Dhat. If the next European traveller, who may pass through the Indian desert, will seek out the representative of the ancient Soda princes at Chore, near Amerkote, he may learn from their bard (if they retain such an appendage) the date of this prince, and that of so important an event in the physical and political history of their regions. The vestiges of large towns, now buried in the sands, confirm the truth of this tradition, and several of them claim a high antiquity: such as the *Rung-mahel*, already mentioned, west of Bhutnair, having subterranean apartments still in good preservation. An aged native of Dhandoosir (twenty-five miles south of Bhutnair) replied, to my inquiry as to the recollections attached to this place, that "it belonged to a Powar prince who ruled once all these regions, when Sekunder Roomi attacked them."

An excursion from Hansi Hissar, our western frontier, into these regions, would soon put the truth of such traditions to the test, as far as these reported ruins are concerned; though what might appear the remains of palaces of the Pramaras, the Johyas, and the Jits of ancient days, to the humble occupant of a hut in the desert, may only prove the foundations of some castellated building. But the same traditions are circulated with regard to the more western desert, where the same kind of vestiges is said to exist, and the annals make mention of capitals, the sites of which are now utterly unknown. Considering the safety, and comparative ease, with which such a journey can be made, one cannot imagine a more agreeable pursuit, than the prosecution of archæological inquiries in the northern deserts of Rajpootana, where traditions abound, and where the existing manners, amongst such a diversity of tribes, would furnish ample materials for the portfolio, as well as for memoirs. Its productions, spontaneous or cultivated, though its botanical as well as zoological specimens may be limited, we know to be essentially different from those of Gangetic India, and more likely to find a parallel in the natural productions and phenomena of the great African desert. The Bhuttis, the Khosas, the Rajurs, the Sahraes, the Mangulias, the Sodas, and various other nomadic tribes, present a wide field for observation; and the physiologist, when tired of the habits of man, may descend from the nobler animal to the lion, the wild ass, every kind of deer, the flocks of sheep which, fed on the succulent grasses, touch not water for six weeks together, while the various herbs, esculent plants and shrubs, salt lakes, natron beds, &c., would give

abundant scope for commentary and useful comparison. He will discover no luxuries, and few signs of civilization; the *jhopra* (hut) constructed of poles and twigs, coated inside with mud and covered with grass, being little better than the African's dwelling.

We shall conclude this imperfect sketch of Bikaneer and the desert with the names of several of their ancient towns, which may aid the search of the traveller in the regions on its northern border.—Abhore; Bunjarra ca Nuggur; Rung-Mahel; Sodul, or Sorutgurh; Machotal; Raati-bung; Kali-bung; Kaliansir; Phoolra; Marote; Tilwarra; Gilwarra; Bunni; Manick-Khur; Soor-sagur; Bhameni; Koriwalla; Kul-Dherani.

Some names in this list may be unimportant, but if two, or even one, should be the means of eliciting some knowledge of the past, the record will not be useless.

Phoolra and Marote have still some importance; the first is very ancient, and enumerated amongst the *'No-koti Maroo-ca,'* in the earliest periods of Pramara (vulg. *Powar)* dominion. I have no doubt that inscriptions in the ornamental *nail-headed* character belonging to the Jains will be found here, having obtained one from *Lodorva* in the desert, which has been a ruin for nine centuries. Phoolra was the residence of Lakha *Phoolani*, a name well known to those versed in the old traditions of the desert. He was contemporary with Sid Rae of Anhulwarra, and Udyadit of Dhar.

ANNALS OF JESSULMEER.

CHAPTER I.

Jessulmeer.—The derivation of its name.—The Rajpoots of Jessulmeer called Bhattis, are of the Yadu race.—Descended from Bharat, king of Bharatversha, or Indo-Scythia.—Restricted bounds of India of modern invention.—The ancient Hindus a naval people.—First seats of the Yadus in India, Prayaga, Mathura and Dwarica.—Their international wars.—Heri, king of Mathura and Dwarica, leader of the Yadus.—Dispersion of his family.—His great-grandsons Naba and Khira.—Naba driven from Dwarica, becomes prince of Marooshali, conjectured to be the Maru, or Merve of Iran.—Jhareja and Jud-bhan, the sons of Khira.—The former founds the Sind-samma dynasty, and Jud-bhan becomes prince of Behera in the Punjab.—Prithibahu succeeds to Naba in Maroo.—His son Bahu.—His posterity.—Raja Guj found Gujni.—Attacked by the kings of Syria and Khorasan, who are repulsed.—Raja Guj attacks Cashmeer.—His marriage.—Second invasion from Khorasan.—The Syrian king conjectured to be Antiochus.—Oracle predicts the loss of Gujni.—Guj slain.—Gujni taken.—Prince Salbahan arrives in the Punjab.—Founds the city of Salbahana, S. V. 72.—Conquers the Punjab.—Marries the daughter of Jeipal Tuar of Delhi.—Re-conquers Gujni.—Is succeeded by Balund.—His numerous offspring.—Their conquests.—Conjecture regarding the Jadoon tribe of Eusofzye, that the Afghans are Yadus, *not* Yahudis, *or Jews.—Balund resides at Salbahana.—Assigns Gujni to his grandson Chakito, who becomes a convert to Islam and king of Khorasan.—The Chakito Moguls descended from him.—Balund dies.—His son Bhatti succeeds.—Changes the patronymic of Yadu, or Jadoo, to Bhatti.—Succeeded by Mungul Rao.—His brother Munsoo. Rao and sons cross the Garah and take possession of the Lakhi jungle.—Degradation of the sons of Mungul Rao.—They lose their rank as Rajpoots.—Their offspring styled Abhorias and Juts.—Tribe of Tak.—The [illegible] of Taxiles discovered.—Mungul Rao arrives in the desert.—Its tribes.—His son, Majun Rao,*

princess of Amerkote.—His son Kehur.—Alliance with the Deora of Jhalore.—The foundation of Thanote laid.—Kehur succeeds.—Thanote attacked by the Barahx tribe.—Thanote completed S. 787.—Peace with the Barahas.—Reflections.

JESSULMEER is the modern name of a tract of country comprehended, according to ancient geography, in *Maroosthali*, the desert of India. It is termed *Mer* in the traditional nomenclature of this region, from being a rocky (*mer*) oasis in the heart of the sandy desert, interesting both from its physical features, and its position as the *ultima Thule* of independent Hinduism. Yet, however, entitled to regard from its local peculiarities or its products, the history of the tribe which inhabits its presents a still more engrossing subject for investigation.

This tribe is the Bhatti, a branch of the Yadu or Jadoo race, whose power was paramount in India three thousand years ago; and the prince now governing this distant corner of India, claims descent from those Yadu kings who ruled from the Yamuna to the "world's end,"* at that remote period.

It were preposterous to expect to find, in the annals of the people so subject to the vicissitudes of fortune, and unbroken series of historical evidence in support of this ancestry; but they have preserved links of the chain which indicate original affinities. In tracing the Yadu-Bhatti history, two hypotheses alternately present themselves to our minds, each of which rests upon plausible grounds; the one supposing the Bhattis to be of Scythic, the other of Hindu origin. This incongruity may be renconciled by presuming the co-mixture of the two primitive races; by enlarging our views, and contemplating the barrier, which in remote ages separated Scythia and India, as ideal; and admitting that the various communities, from the Caspian to the Ganges, were members of one grand family, having a common language and common faith,† in that ancient central empire whose existence has been contended for and denied by the

* *Juggut Coont*, the point of land beyond Dwarica, the last stronghold of the Yadus when their power was extinguished.

† Menu says: "The following races of *Cshatriyas*, by the omission of holy rites, and by seeing no Brahmans, have gradually sung among men to the lowest of the fourth class (i. e., *Sudra*,) *Paundrac*as, *Odras* and *Draviras*; *Cámbojas*, *Yavanas* and *Sacas*; *Paradas*, *Pahlavas*, *Chinas*, *Cirat*as and *Chasas*.—Art. 43 and 44, chap. x.

It is a great mistake to suppose the Bactrian Greeks are these who are descended from Yavan, fifth son of Yayat, third son of Chal Nahus, though the Ionians may be of this race. The *Sacæ*, the races of Central Asia, (the Sacha Rajpoot); the

first names in science;* the Bharatversha of the Hindus, the Indo-Scythic empire of king Bharat, son of Budha, the ancestor of the Yadu-Bhattis, now confined to a nook of the desert.

It would be vain to speculate upon the first colonization of India proper by the *Rajcula*, or 'royal tribes.' It appears to have possessed an indigenous population prior to the races of Surya, or Indu, though the genealogies which give the origin of these degraded races of Cabas,† Bhils, Meras, Goands, &c., assert that they were all from the same stem, and that their political debasement was the effect of moral causes. But as there is no proof of this, we must attribute the fable to the desire of the Brahmin archæologist to account for the origin of all things. Modern enquiries into these matters have been cramped by an erroneous and contracted view of the power of this ancient people, and the direction of that power. It has been assumed that the prejudices originating in Mooslem conquest, which prevented the Hindu chieftain from crossing the forbidden waters of the Attoc, and still more from "going down to the sea in ships," had always existed. But were it not far more difficult to part with erroneous impressions than to receive new and correct views, it would be apparent that the first of these restrictions is of very recent origin, and on the other hand, that the Hindus of remote ages possessed great naval power, by which communication must have been maintained with the coasts of Africa,‡ Arabia and Persia, as well as the Australian Archipelago.§ It is ridiculous, with all the knowledge now in

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Pahlàvas, the ancient Persians, or Guebres; the *Chinas*, the inhabitants of China; and the *Chasas*, inhabitants of the great snowy mountains (*kho*), whence *Kho-chasa* (the *Casia montes* of Ptolemy), corrupted the *Caucasus*.

* The illustrious Cuvier questioned the existence of an ancient central kingdom, because "ni Moise, ni Homère ne nous parlait d'un grand empire dans la Haute Asie."—(*Discours sur les Revolutions de la Surface du Globe*, p. 206.)—Who, then, were "the sons of Togarmah" (mentioned by Ezekiel) who conquered and long held Egypt?

† The Caba race is almost extinct; it was famed, even in the days of Crishna, as the savage inhabitants of Saurastrah. When the forester Bhil, who mortally wounded Crishna, was expressing his contrition for the unintentional act, he was forgiven, with the remark that it was only retributive justice, as "in a former birth," as the god-like Rama, Crishna had slain him. Thus Rama appears as the subjugator and civilizer of those indigenous tribes, of whom the Cabas are described as plundering Crishna's family after his decease.

‡ Whence the Hindu names of towns at the estuaries of the Gambia and Senegal rivers, the Tambaconda and other *condas*, already mentioned?

§ Mr. Marsden, at an early period of his researches into Hindu literature, shares the merit of discovering with Sir W. Jones, that the Malayan language, disseminated throughout the Archipelago, and extending from Madagascar to Easter Island, a space of 200 degs. of longitude, is indebted to the Sanskrit for a considerable number of its

our possession, to suppose that the Hindus always confined themselves within their gigantic barriers, the limits of modern India. The cosmography of the *Poorans*, imperfect and puerile as it is, and some of the texts of Menu, afford abundant evidence of an intimate intercourse between the countries from the Oxus to the Ganges; and even in their allegories, we trace fresh streams of knowledge flowing into India from that central region, stigmatized in latter days as the land of the Barbarian (*Mletcha*). Menu corroborates the *Porans*, from which we infer the fact, that in distant ages one uniform faith extended from *Sacadwipa*, the continent of the Sacæ, to the Ganges.* These observations it is necessary to premise before

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terms, and that the intercourse which effected this was many centuries previous to their conversion to the Mahomedan religion. He is inclined to think that the point of communication was from Guzerat. The legends of these islanders also abound with allusions to the *Mahabharat* and *Ramayuna*. (See Asiatic Res. vol. iv. p. 26, Second Edition).

Since Mr. M. wrote, the revelation of the architectural antiquities in these isles, consequent to British conquests, establishes the fact that they were colonized by the Suryas, whose mythological and heroic history is sculptured in their edifices and maintained in their writings. Nor should we despair that similar discoveries may yet disclose the link which of yore connected India with Egypt, and to which Ceylon was but the first stepping-stone. That Rama possessed great naval means is beyond doubt, inherited from his ancestor Sagara 'the sea-king,' twenty generations before the hero of Lanka, which place I have long imagined to be Ethiopia; whence ancient writers assert Egypt to have had her institutions, and that the Ethiopians were of Indian origin. Cuvier, quoting Syncellus, even assigns the reign of Amenophis as the epoch of the colonization of Ethiopia from India.—Page 180 of his '*Discours*,' &c.

* The cosmography of the *Agni Pooran* divides the world then known to the Hindus into seven *dwipas*, or continents: one of these is "Saca-dwipa, whose inhabitants descended from Bupha, are termed Saceswara (i. e., *Sacæ-lords*). His (Bupha's) offspring or descendants were Julud, Sookmar, Manic, Koorum, Ootures, Darbeeka, Drooma, each of whom gave his name to a *khand*, or division (*qu.* Sookmarkhand?) The chief ranges of mountains were Juldus, Raivat, Siamah, Induc, Amki, Rim, and Kesari. "There were seven grand rivers, *viz.*, Mug, Mugud, Arverna, &c. The inhabitants worship the sun."

Slight as this information is, we must believe that the Sacadwipa or Sacatai, is the Scythia of the Ancients; and the Sacesware (the Sacas of Menu), the Sacæ so well known to western history, the progenitors of the Parthians, whose first (*ait*) king was *Arsaca*. The sun-worship indicates the adorer of Mithras, the Mitra or Surya of the Hindu; the Arverna recalls the *Araxes* applied to the Jaxartes; while Julud, the proper name of the son of the first king of Sacadwipa, appears to be the Juldus of the Tatar historian Abulgazi, who uses the same term as does the Hindu, to designate a range of mountains. Whence this identity between Pooranic and Tatar cosmography?

"A chief of the twice-born tribe (*i.e.*, Brahmins) was brought by Vishan's eagle from Sacadwipa, and thus have Sacadwipa Brahmins become known in Jambudwipa" (India).—Mr. Colebrooke on Indian Classes,

the tide of Yadu migration during
we attempt, by fo[illegible] to trace them from Indraprastha,
the lapse of thirty c[illegible]ryag[illegible]warica, Judoo-ca-dang (the moun-
Surapura, Mathura, [illegible]ra, Guji[illegible] in Zabulistan; and again refluent
tains of J[illegible]bhana or Salpura in the Punjab, Tunnote,
into India, at Sa[illegible]the desert, and finally Jessulmeer, founded
Derav[illegible]ul, Lodorva [illegible]56.
in S. 1212, or A.D. 1[illegible]e descanted at length on the early history

Having elsewher[illegible]y refer those who are likely to take an
of the Yadus,* we ma[illegible]ion to that paper, and proceed at once to
interest in this discus[illegible]n the native annals before us, from the
glean what we can fro[illegible], Heri-Crishna, to the dispersion of the
death of their lead[illegible]The bare fact of their migration altogether
Yadus from India. proves that the original intercourse, which
out of India proper patriarch of the Yadu race, into India† (where he espoused Ella, a princess of the Surya race, and by whom his issue was multiplied), was not forgotten, though fifty generations had elap[illegible]ed from the patriarchal Budha to Heri—to
whom and the chr[illegible]hicle we return.

"Prayaga‡ is [illegible]he cradle of the Yadus who are *Som[illegible]ga* (of the lunar rac[illegible]s. Thence Mathura founded by P[illegible]ururwa remained for [illegible]s the seat of power. The name whom there were fifty-six tribes,§ became of *Jadoo* (Yadu), and of this race was the mighty Heri-Cr[illegible] famous to he w[illegible]rishna, who founded Dwarica."

The grand international conflicts amongst th[illegible] Yadu tribes," at Curukheta, and subsequently at [illegible]e "fifty-six [illegible]Dwarica, are

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Asiatic. Res. vol. v., p. 53. And Menu says that it was only o[illegible] to sanction Brahmins residing amongst them, that the inhabi[illegible]their ceasing remote western regions became '*Mletcha*,' or barbarians: testi[illegible]hese which must be held conclusive of perfect intercourse and reciprocity o[illegible] sentiment between the nations of Central Asia and India at periods the most remote.

* *Vide* "Essay on the Hindu and Theban Hercules," Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii.

† *Bhagvat* says, "*Budha* (a wise man—a patriarch) came to Bharatkhand to perform penitential rites, and espoused Ella, by whom he had Prururwa (founder of Mathura), who had six sons, *viz.*, Ayu, &c., who carried on the lunar (Indu) races in India." Now this Ayu is likewise the patriarch of the Tatars, and in that language signifies the moon, a male divinity both with Tatars and Rajpoots. Throughout there are traces of an original identity, which justifies the application of the term Indo-Scythic to the Yadu race—*Vide* Genealogical table, Vol. I.

‡ *Pryaga* is the modern Allahabad, at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges, the capital of the Prasii of Megasthenes.

§ This is alternately called *Chapun Cula and Chapun Crore*, "fifty-six tribes," and "fifty-six millions," of Yadus. As they were long supreme over India, this number is not inadmissible.

sufficiently known to the reader of [illegible] are [illegible] history, and may be referred to elsewhere.* These e[illegible] computed to have happened about 1,100 years befo[illegible]hirst. On the dispersion of these races many abandoned Invia, and [illegible]se two of the many sons of Crishna. This deified [illegible]ader of the Yadus had eight wives, and the offspring of the [illegible]fth and seventh, by a singular fate, now occupy what may be t[illegible]ermed the outposts of Hinduism.†

Rookmani was the senior of thes[illegible] wives; and the eldest of her sons was Pridena, who was mar[illegible]ried to a princess of Bidurba; she bore him two sons, Anura[illegible]d and Bujra, and from the latter the Bhattis claim descent. Buji[illegible] had two sons, Naba and Khira.

"When the Jadoos were exterminat[illegible]d in the conflict at Dwarica, and Heri had gone to heaven, Br[illegible]jra was on his way from Mathura to see his father, but had only marched twenty Coss (forty miles), when he received intell[illegible]gence of that event, which had swept away his kindred. H[illegible] died upon the spot, when Naba was elected king and retu[illegible]ed to Mathura, but Khira pursued his journey to Dwarica.

"The thirty-six tribes of Rajpoots hithe[illegible] oppressed by the Yadus, who had long held universal domini[illegible] be revenged. Naba was compelled to flow down mined to [illegible]ica]; he became prince of Marusthali in the west. city [Dwar[illegible] far from the *Bhagvat*, (says the Bhatti chronicler),

"Thus [illegible]tinue the history of the Bhattis, by the Brahmin and I co[illegible]na of Mathura.

Sookhdhe[illegible] had issue, Prithibahu.

"Naba had two sons, Jhareja and Jud-bhan.‡

"Jud-bhan was on a pilgrimage: the goddess heard his views; she awoke him from his sleep, and promised whatever he desired. 'Give me land that I may inhabit,' said the youth; 'Rule in these hills,' replied the goddess, and disappeared. When Jud-bhan awoke, and was yet pending on the vision of the night, a confused noise assailed him; and looking

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* Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii. *Vide* paper entitled, "Comparison of the Hindu and Theban Hercules."

† Jambuvati was the name of the seventh wife, whose eldest son was called Samba—he obtained possession of the tracts on both sides the Indus, and founded the *Sina-Samma* dynasty, from which the *Jharejas* are descended. There is every probability that Sambus, of Samba nagari (*Minagara*), the opponent of Alexander, was a descendant of Samba, son of Crishna. The Jhareja chronicles, in ignorance of the origin of this titular appellation, say that their "ancestors came from Sham, or Syria."

‡ Jid, Jud, Jadoo, are the various modes of pronouncing Yadu in the *Bhakha*, or spoken dialects of the west. *Jud-bhan*, 'the rocket of the Yadu,' would imply the knowledge of gunpowder at a very remote period.

out, he discovered that the prince of the country had just died without issue, and they were disputing who should succeed him. The prime minister said, 'he dreamed that a descendant of Crishna had arrived at *Behera*,'* and proposed to seek him out and invest him as their prince. All assented, and Jud-bhan was elected king. He became a great prince, had numerous progeny, and the place of their abode was henceforth styled *Judoo ca-dang*, 'the mountains of Judoo.'

"*Prithi-bahu* ('the arm of the earth') son of Naba, prince of Marusthali, inherited the insignia of Sri-Crishna with the regal umbrella (*chhetri*) made by Viswacarma. He had a son *Bahubal*, ('strong arm'), who espoused Camlavati, daughter of Vijya Sing, Prince of Malwa, who gave in dower (*daeja*)† one thousand horses of Khorasan, one hundred elephants, pearls, gems, and gold innumerable, and five hundred handmaids, with

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*The precise knowledge of the topography of these regions, displayed in the Bhatti annals, is the most satisfactory proof of their authenticity. In the present day, it would be in vain to ask any native of Jessulmeer the position of the "hill of Jud," or the site of Behera: and but for the valuable translation of Baber's Memoirs, by Mr. Erskine, we should have been unable to adduce the following testimony. Baber crossed the Indus on the 17th February 1519, and on the 19th, between that river and one of its great towns, the Behat, he reached the very tract where the descendant of Crishna established himself twenty-five centuries before. Baber says, "*Seven kos* from Behreh to the north there is a hill. This hill in the Zefer Nameh (History of Timoor), and other books, is called the Hill of Jud. At first I was ignorant of the origin of its name, but afterwards discovered that in this hill there were two races of men descended of the same father. One tribe is called Jud, the other Jenjuheh. From old times they have been the rulers and lords of the inhabitants of this hill, and of the *Ils* and *Uluses* (political divisions) between Nilab and Behreh. Their power is exerted in a friendly and brotherly way. They cannot take from them whatever they please. They take as their share a portion that has been fixed from very remote times. The Jud is divided into various branches or families, as well as the Jenjuheh. The chief man amongst them gets the name of Rae."—*Erskine's Baber, p.* 254.

Here is a decided confirmation that this Hindu colony preserved all their original manners and customs even to Baber's day. The tribe of Jenjuhehs, beyond a doubt, is the tribe of Johya, so celebrated in the region skirting the Sutlej, and which will be noticed hereafter. I presented a small work entirely relating to their history, to the Royal Asiatic Society. As Baber says, they are of the same family as the Juds, they are probably the descendants of Jinj, the brother of Bhatti, who changed the family patronymic from Jadoo or Judoo to Bhatti; and thus it appears, that when the elder branch was driven from Gujni, they retreated amongst their relations of the hills of Jud. Baber was quite enamoured with the beauty of the hill of Jud, which, with its lake and valleys, he describes as a miniature Cashmer.—P. 255

† The Pramars were formerly the most powerful potentates of central India. Handmaids, and bedsteads of gold, were always a part of the *daeja* or dower of Hindu princesses.

chariots and bedsteads of gold. The Puar (Pramar) Camlavatī became the chief queen and bore her lord one son,

"*Bahu*, killed by a fall from his horse; he left one son,

"*Soobahu*, who was poisoned by his wife, a daughter of Mund Raja Chohan of Ajmeer; he left a son,

"*Rijh*, who reigned twelve years. He was married to *Soobhag Soondri*, daughter of Ber Sing, prince of Malwa. Having, when pregnant, dreamed that she was delivered of a white elephant, the astrologers, who interpreted this as an indication of greatness, desired he might be named *Guj*:* as he approached manhood, the coco-nut came from Jud-bhan, prince of *Poorubdes* (the eastern), and was accepted. At the same time tidings arrived that from the shores of the ocean, the barbarians (*Mletcha*), who had formerly attacked *Soobahu*,† were again advancing, having Ferid Shah of Khorasan at the

* Abul Fazl mentions Joga as prince of Gasmien and Cashmeer, who was slain by Oguz Khan, the Patriarch of the Tatar tribes.

† In this early portion of the annals, there is a singular mixture of historical facts, and it appears that the Yadu scribes confound their connections with the Syrian and Bactrian Greeks, and with the first Mooslem conquerors. Imperfect as is this notice of Soobahu, his son Rijh, and grandson Guj, who were thus assailed by Ferid of Khorasan (Bactria), and his auxiliary, the king of Room (Syria), we have a powerful allusion of Antiochus the Great, who, two hundred and four years before Christ, invaded Bactria and India. Amongst the few facts left of this expedition is his treaty with Sophagasenus, the Indian monarch, in which the Syrian king stipulated for a tribute in elephants. There are, even in this medley of incidents, grounds for imagining that Sophagasenus is the Yadu prince of Gujni. Whether, out of Soobahu and Guj, the Greeks manufactured their Sophagasenus, or whether prince Guj could have been entitled Soobhaghsen, in compliment to his mother, Soobhagh-Soondri, of Malwa, must be left for the speculative to decide. It is not unlikely that the nature of the tribute, said to have been elephants, which the Indian agreed to furnish to the Greek prince, may have originated with the name of *Guj*, which smeans 'elephant.'

There is at the same time much that refers to the early progress of Islam in these regions of central Asia. Price, in his excellent history, extracting from the *Kholausut-ul-Akbar*, says "Hejauge was entrusted with the government of Khorasan, and Obaidoolah with Seistan, who had orders from Hejauge, his superior, to invade Cabul, whose prince was Reteil or Retpeil, whom the Author supposes either a Tatar or Hindu prince. Artfully retiring, he drew the Mahomedan army into the defiles, and blocking up the rear, cut off their retreat, and Obaidoolah was compelled to purchase his liberation by the payment of seven hundred thousand dirhems."

This was the seventy-eighth year of the Hegira, or A. D. 697. Conjoined to what follows, it appears to have reference to Rijh, father of Guj. Again:

"Obaidoolah and Abdoorehman invaded Seistan with forty thousand men. The prince of Cabul tried the same manœuvre, but was outwitted by the Mahomedan, who conquered a great part of Cabul and acquired great booty, with which he returned to Seistan, to the great displeasure of Hejauge; and Abdoorehman entered into a confederacy with Retpeil to

head of four lakhs of horse, from whom the people fled in dismay. The Raja sent scouts to obtain accurate intelligence, and marched to Harreou to meet him; while the foe encamped two Coss from Koonjsheher.* A battle ensued, in which the invader was defeated with the loss of thirty thousand men, and four thousand on the part of the Hindus. But the foeman rallied, the Raja Rijh, who again encountered him, was wounded and died just as prince Guj returned with Hansavati, his bride, daughter of Jud-bhan of the east. In two battles the king of Khorasan was vanquished, when he obtained an auxiliary in the king of Room (*Romi'pati*), to establish the Koran and the law of the prophet in infidel lands. While the armies of the Asuras were thus preparing their strength, Raja Guj called a council of ministers. There being no stronghold of importance, and it being impossible to stand against numbers, it was determined to erect a fortress amidst the mountains of the north. Having summoned his friends to his aid, he sought council of the guardian goddess of his race; who foretold that, the power of the Hindus was to cease, but commanded him toe erect a fort and call it *Gujni*. While it was approaching completion, news came that the kings of Room and Khorasan were near at hand:

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attack Hejauge, and absolve Cabul from tribute. Moghairah was the successor of Abdoorehman in Khorasan, while his father, Mohilel, was employed beyond the Jehoon, but died at Meru of a burning diarrhœa bequeathing his government to Yezzid."

This account of Moghairah's (the governor of Khorasan) death, while carrying on war against the Hindu Retpeil of Cabul, has much analogy to the sudden death of *Mamraiz*, the foe of Rijh of Zabulisthan. One thing is now proved, that princes of the Hindu faith ruled over all these regions in the first ages of Islamism, and made frequent attempts, for centuries after, to reconquer them. Of this fact, Baber gives us a most striking instance in his description of Gujni, or, as he writes, *Ghazni*. He says, "I have seen, in another history, that when the Rai of Hind besieged Subaktegin in Guzni, he ordered dead flesh and other impurities to be thrown into the fountain, when there instantly arose a tempest and hurricane, with rain and snow, and by his device he drove away the enemy." Baber adds, "I made then inquiry in Ghazni for this well, but nobody could give me the slightest information regarding it," p. 150. Doubtless, when Baber conquered India, and became better acquainted with the Hindu warriors, he would have got to the bottom of this anecdote, and have seen that the success of the *ruse* of Subaktegin arose out of the religion of his foes, who could not use water thus contaminated by the flesh of the sacred kine. The celebrated Balabhi was reduced by the same stratagem.

* Neither of these towns appears in any map. "There is a Koonj Reshak in Khorasan, and a Penjher in Balk."—*Sir W. Ouseley's Ebn Haukal*, p. 213-223.

Roomi-pat, Khorasan-pat, hae, gai, pakhur, pai,
*Chinta terra, chith legi ; soono Jud'pat Rae.**

"The stick wounded the drum of the Jadoo prince; the army was formed, gifts were distributed, and the astrologers were commanded to assign such a moment for marching as might secure the victory.

"Thursday (*Vrishpatwar*) the 13th of Magh, the enlightened half of the moon, when one Ghurri of the day had fled, was the auspicious hour; and the drum of departure sounded. That day he marched eight Coss, and encamped at Doolapoor. The combined kings advanced, but in the night the Shah of Khorasan died of indigestion. When it was reported to the king of Room (Shah Secunder Roomi) that Shah Mamraiz was dead, he became alarmed and said, 'while we mortals have grand schemes in hand, he above has other views for us.' Still his army advanced like waves of the ocean; caparisons and chains clank on the backs of elephants, while instruments of war resound through the host. Elephants move like walking mountains; the sky is black with clouds of dust; bright helms reflect the rays of the sun. Four Coss (eight miles) separated the hostile armies. Raja Guj and his chieftains performed their ablutions, and keeping the *Joginis*† in their rear, advanced to the combat. Each host rushed on like famished tigers; the earth trembled; the heavens were overcast; nor was aught visible in the gloom but the radiant helm. War-bells resound; horses neigh; masses of men advance on each other, like the dark rolling clouds of Bhadoon. Hissing speeds the feathered dart; the lion-roar of the warriors is re-echoed, the edge of the sword deluges the ground with blood; on both sides the blows resound on the crackling bones. Here was Jud-Rae, there the Khans and Ameers, as if Time had encountered his fellow. Mighty warriors strew the earth; heroes fall in the cause of their lords. The army of the Shah fled; he left twenty-five thousand souls entangled in the net of destruction; he abandoned elephants and horses, and even his throne. Seven thousand Hindus lay dead on the field. The drum of victory resounded, and the Jadoon returned triumphant to his capital.

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* "The king of Room and the king of Khorasan, with the horse (*hae*) elephants (*gai or guj*) caparisons (*pakhur*) and foot-soldiers (*pai* or *paek*) [are at hand]. Beware, let it enter your mind, oh Rae, Lord of the Judoos!"

† The unclean spirits of Rajpoot martial mythology, who feed on the slain.

"On Sunday, the 3rd of Bysak, the spring season (*Vasant*), the Rohini Nakhatra, and Samvat Dherma-raja (*Yudishthira*) 3008,* seated on the throne of Gujni, he maintained the Jadoon race. With this victory his power became firm: he conquered all the countries to the west, and sent an ambassador to Cashmeer to call its prince Kandrupkel† to his presence. But the prince refused the summons: he said the world would scoff at him if he attended the stirrup of another without being first worsted in fight. Raja Guj invaded Cashmeer, and married the daughter of its prince, by whom he had a son, called Salbahan.

"When this child had attained the age of twelve, tidings of another invasion came from Khorasan. Raja Guj shut himself up for three entire days in the temple of Culadevi;‡ on the fourth day the goddess appeared and revealed to him his destiny: that Gujni would pass from his hands, but that his posterity would re-inherit it, not as Hindus but as Mooslems; and directed him to send his son, Salbahan, amongst the Hindus of the east, there to erect a city to be named after him. She said that he would have fifteen sons, whose issue would multiply; 'that he (Raja Guj) would fall in the defence of Gujni but would gain a glorious reward hereafter.'

"Having heard his fate revealed, Raja Guj convened his family and kin, and on pretence of a pilgrimage to Jwala-mookhi,§ he caused them to depart, with the prince Salbahan, for the east.

"Soon after the foe approached within five Coss of Gujni. Leaving therein his uncle, Seydeo, for its defence, Raja Guj marched to meet him. The king of Khorasan divided his army into five divisions; the Raja formed his into three: a desperate conflict ensued, in which both the king and the Raja were slain. The battle lasted five *puhars*,‖ and a hundred thousand Meers and thirty thousand Hindus strewed the field. The king's son invested Gujni; for thirty days it was defended by Seydeo, when he performed the *Saka*,¶ and nine thousand valiant men gave up their lives.

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*This date is circumstantial, and might be fixed or disproved by calculation; if the heterogeneous mixture of such widely separated incidents as those in Syro-Macedonian and Mahomedan History did not deter us from the attempt.

† No such name appears in Wilson's *Raj Tarangini*.

‡ Tutelary goddess, or "of the race (*cula*)"

§ This volcano is a well-known place of pilgrimage in the Sewaluk mountains.

‖ A puhar is one-fourth of the day.

¶ For a description of this rite, see Vol. I.

"When tidings of this fatal event were conveyed to Salbahan, for twelve days the ground became his bed.* He at length reached the Punjab, where he fixed on a spot with abundance of water, and having collected his clansmen around him, he laid the foundation of a city which he named after himself, Salbahanpur. The surrounding Bhomias attended, and acknowledge his supremacy. Seventy-two years of the era of Vicrama had elapsed when Salbahanpur was founded, upon Sunday, the 8th of the month of Bhadoon.†

"Salbahan conquered the whole region of the Punjab. He had fifteen sons, who all became Rajas: *viz.*, Balund, Rasaloo, Dhurmungud, Vacha, Roopa, Sundur, Lekh, Juskurn, Naima, Maut, Neepak, Gangeou, Jugeou; all of whom, by the strength of their own arms, established themselves in independence.

"The coco-nut from Raja Jeipal Tuar was sent from Delhi, and accepted.‡ Balund proceeded to Delhi, whose prince advanced to meet him. On his return with his bride, Salbahan determined to redeem Gujni from the foe and avenge his father's death. His crossed the Attok to encounter Jellal, who advanced at the head of twenty thousand men. Crowned with victory, he regained possession of Gujni, where he left Balund, and returned to his capital in the Punjab: he soon after died, having ruled thirty-three years and nine months.

"Balund succeeded. His brothers had now established themselves in all the mountainous tracts of the Punjab. But the

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* In conformity with the Hindu ordinances of *matim*, or mourning.

† Here is another circumstantial date, S. 72, or A. D. 16, for the foundation of Salbahana in the Punjab, by the fugitive Yadu prince from Gujni. Of its exact position we have no means of judging, but it could not have been remote from Lahore. It may be deemed a fortunate coincidence that I should discover that ancient inscription (Vol. I.) of this capital, styled *Salpoor*, governed by a Gete or Jit in the fourth century; which suggested the idea (which many facts tend to prove), whether these Yadus (whose illegitimate issue, as will appear in the sequel, are called Juts) may not be the Yuti or Getes from Centra Asia. The coincidence of the date of Salbahan-Yadu with that of the Saca Salivahan, the Tak, will not fail to strike the enquirer into Hindu antiquities: and it is not the least curious circumstance that these Yadus, or Yuti, displaced the Takshac, or Tak, from this region, as will appear immediately. In further corroboration, see Notes 2 and 4 and Inscriptions, 11

‡ At every page of these annals, it is evident that they have been transcribed by some ignoramus, who has jumbled together events of ancient and modern date. The prince of Delhi might have been Jeipal, but if we are to place any faith in the chronology of the Tuar race, no prince of this family could be synchronous with the Yadu Salbahan. I am inclined to think that the emigration of Salbahan's ancestors from Gujni was at a much later period than S. 72, as I shall note as we proceed.

*Toorks** began rapidly to increase, and to subjugate all beneath their sway, and the lands around Gujni were again in their power. Balund had no minister, but superintended in person all the details of his government. He had seven sons : Bhatti, Bhupati, Kullur, Jinj,† Surmor, Bhynsrecha, Mangreo. The second son Bhupati, (*i. e.*, lord of the earth) had a son, Chakito, from whom is descended the Chakito (*Chagitai*) tribe. ‡

"Chakito had eight sons, *viz.*, Deosi, Bharoo, Khemkhan, Nahur, Jeipal,§ Dharsi, Beejli-Khan, Shah Summund.

"Balund, who resided at Salbahanpur, left Gujni to the charge of his grandson Chakito ; and as the power of the barbarian (*mletcha*) increased, he not only entertained troops of that race, but all his nobles were of the same body. They offered, if he would quit the religion of his fathers, to make him master of Balich Bokhara, where dwelt the Oosbek race, whose king had no offspring but one daughter. Chakito married her, and became king of Balich Bokhara, and lord of twenty-eight thousand horse. Between Balich and Bokhara runs a mighty river, and Chakito was king of all from the gate of Balichshan to the face of Hindustan ; and from him is descended the tribe of Chakito Moguls ‖

"Kullur, third son of Balund, had eight sons, whose descendants are designated Kullur.¶ Their names were, Seodas, Ramdas, Asso, Kistna, Samoh, Gango, Jesso, Bhago ; almost

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* *Toork* is the term in the dialects which the Hindus apply to the races from central Asia, the *Turshka* of the *Pooranas*.

† Doubtless the ancestor of the Johya race, termed the Jenjuheh by Babèr, and who dwelt with the Juds in the hills of Jud, the Juddoo-ca-dar of the Bhatti MSS.

‡ However curious this assertion, of the Chagitais being descen from the Yadus, it ought not to surprise us : I repeat, that all these tr whether termed Indo-Scythic or Tatar, prior to Islamism, profes faith which may be termed Hinduism.

§ As it is evident the period has reference to the very first ye Islamism, and it is stated that the sons of Guj were to be proselytes, it by no means improbable that this is Jeipal, the infidel prince of Khwarezm. —See Price's Mahomedan History.

‖ This is a most important admission of the proselytism of the ancient Indo-Scythic Yadu princes to the faith of Islam, though there can be no reasonable doubt of it. Temugin, better known by his *nomme de guerre*, Jungeez, the father of Chagitai, according to the Mahomedan historians, is termed an infidel, and so was *Tacash*, the father of Mahomed of Khwarezm : the one was of the Getic or Yuti race ; the other, as his name discloses, of the Tak or Takshac, the two grand races of central Asia.—The insertion of this pedigree in this place completely vitiates chronology : yet for what purpose it could have been interpolated, if not founded on some fact, we cannot surmise.

¶ We can, by means of the valuable translation of the Commentaries of Baber, trace many of these tribes.

all of whom became Moosulmans. They are a numerous race, inhabiting the mountainous countries west of the river,* and notorious robbers.

"Jinj, the fourth son, had seven sons; Champo, Gokul, Mehraj, Hunsa, Bhadon, Rasso, Juggo, all whose issue bore the name of Jinj; † and in like manner did the other sons become the patriarchs of tribes.

"Bhatti succeeded his father Balund. He conquered fourteen princes, and added their fortunes to his own. Among his effects, he reckoned twenty-four thousand mules ‡ laden with treasure; sixty thousand horse, and innumerable foot. As soon as he mounted the *gadi*, he assembled all his forces at Lahore preparatory to the *teeka-dour*§ destined against Bheerbhan Bhagel, lord of Kenekpur. Bheerbhan fell in the battle which ensued, at the head of forty thousand men.

"Bhatti had two sons, Mungul Rao and Musoor Rao. With Bhatti, the patronymic was changed, and the tribe thenceforth was distinguished by his name.

"Mungul Rao succeeded, but his fortune was not equal to that of his fathers. Dhoondi, king of Guzni, with a mighty force, invaded Lahore ;|| nor did Mungul Rao oppose him, but

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* It has already been noted, that the fifteen brothers of Balund established themselves in the mountainous parts of the Punjab, and that his sons inherited those West of the Indus, or Damaun. The Afghan tribes, whose supposed genealogy from the Jews has excited so much curiosity, and who now inhabit the regions conquered by the sons of Salbahan, are possibly Yadus, who, on conversion, to give more *eclat* to their antiquity, converted *Yadu* into *Yahudi* or Jew, and added the rest of the story from the *Koran*. That grand division of Afghans called the *Euzofzye* or 'Sons of Joseph,' whose original country was Cabul and Guzni, yet retain the name of Jadoon [illegible]ar of Yadu), as one of their principal sub-divisions; and they still occupy a position in the hilly region east of the Indus, conquered by the sons of Balund. It would be a curious fact could we prove the Afghans not *Yahudis* but *Yadus*.

† Doubtless the junction of Jinj with that of Johya, another numerous tribe, formed the Jenjuheh of Baber; the Johyas of the Bhatti annals now known only by name, but whose history forms a volume. The sons of Jinj have left numerous traces—Jenjian on the Garah; Jinjinialli in the desert, &c.

‡ Even the mention of an animal unknown in the desert of India, evinces ancient source whence these annals are compiled. Had the Yadu colony at this period obtained a footing in the desert, south of the Sutlej, the computation would have been by camel-loads, not by *mules*.

§ See Vol. I. for an account of this military foray.

|| This would almost imply that Lahore and Salbahan were one and the same place, but from what follows, the intervening distance could not have been great between the two cities. There is a Sangala, south of Lahore, near the altars of Alexander, and a Sailkote in our modern maps. Salbahan, Salbahanpur, or simply Salpoora, may have been erected on the

with his eldest son fled into the wilds on the banks of the river. The foe then invested Salbahanpur, where resided the family of the Raja ; but Musoor Rao escaped and fled to the Lakhi Jungle.* There being only a cultivating peasantry in this tract, he overcame them, and became master of the country. Musoor Rao had two sons, Abhe Rao and Sarun Rao. The elder, Abhe Rao, brought the whole Lakhi Jungle under his control, and his issue, which multiplied, became famous as the Abhoria Bhattis. Sarun quarrelled with and separated from his brother, and his issue descended to the rank of cultivators, and are well known as the Sarun Juts.†

"Mungul Rao,' the son of Bhatti, and who abandoned his kingdom, had six sons : Mujum Rao, Kullursi, Moolraj, Seoraj, Phool, Kewala.

"When Mungul Rao fled from the king, his children were secreted in the houses of his subjects. A Bhomia named Satidas, of the tribe of *Tak*,‡ whose ancestors had been reduced from power and wealth by the ancestors of the Bhatti prince, determined to avenge himself, and informed the king

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ruins of Kampilanagari. We may hope that researches in that yet untouched region, the Punjab, will afford much to the elucidation of ancient history.

* The Lakhi Jungle is well known in India for its once celebrated breed of horses, extinct within the last twenty years.

† Thus it is that the most extensive agricultural races spread all over India, called *Jats* or *Jits*, have a tradition that they are descended from the Yadu race, (qu. *Yuti?*) and that their original country is Candahar. Such was stated to me as the origin of the Jats of Biana, and Bhurtpur. Why the descendants of Sarun assumed the name of Juts is not stated.

‡ This incidental mention of the race of Tak, and of its being in great consideration on the settlement of the Yadus in the Punjab, is very important. I have given a sketch of this tribe (Vol. I), but since I wrote it, I have discovered the capital of the *Tak*, and on the very spot where I should have expected *the site of Taxila*, the capital of Taxiles, the friend of Alexander. In that sketch I hesitated not to say, that the name was not personal, but arose from his being the head of the *Takshac* or *Naga* tribe, which is confirmed. It is to Baber, or rather to his translator, that I am indebted for this discovery. In describing the limits of Banu, Baber thus mentions it; "And on the west is Desht, which is also called Bazar and Tak ;" to which the erudite translator, adds "Tak is said long to have been the capital of Daman." In Mr. Elphinstone's map, Bazar, which Baber makes identical with Tak, is a few miles north of the city of Attoc. There is no question that both the river and city were named after the race of Tak or Takshac, the Nagas, Nagvansi, or '*snake race*,' who spread over India. Indeed, I would assume, that the name of Omphis, which young Taxiles had on his father's death is *Ophis*, the Greek version of Tak, the 'serpent.' The Taks appear to have been established in the same regions at the earliest period. The *Mahabharat* describes the wars between Janmejaya and the Takshacs, to revenge on their king the death of his father Parikhit, emperor of Indraprastha, or Delhi.

that some of the children were concealed in the house of a banker (*sahoocar*). The king sent Tak with a party of troops, and surrounded the house of Sridhar, who was carried before the king, who swore he would put all his family to death if he did not produce the young princes of Salbahana. The alarmed banker protested he had no children of the Raja's, for that the infants who enjoyed his protection were the offspring of a Bhomia, who had fled, on the invasion, deeply in his debt. But the king ordered him to produce them ; he demanded the name of their village, sent for the Bhomias, belonging to it, and not only made the royal infants of Salbahana eat with them, but marry their daughters. The banker had no alternative to save their lives but to consent : they were brought forth in the peasant's garb, ate with the husbandmen (*Juts*), and were married to their daughters. Thus the offspring of Kullur-rai became the Kullorea Jats ; those of Moondraj and Seoraj, the Moonda and Seora Jats ; with the younger boys, Phool and Kewala, who were passed off as a barber (*nar*), and a potter (*khomar*), fell into that class.

"Mungul Rao, who found shelter in the wilds of the Garah, crossed that stream and subjugated a new territory. At this period, the tribe of Baraha* inhabited the banks of the river ; beyond them were the Boota Rajpoots of Bootaban.† In Poogul dwelt the Pramara ;‡ in Dhat the Soda § race : and the Lodra ‖ Rajpoots in Lodorva. Here Mungul Rao found security, and with the sanction of the Soda prince, he fixed his future abode in the centre of the lands of the Lodras, the Barahas, and the Sodas. On the death of Mungul Rao, he was succeeded by

"Mujum Rao, who escaped from Salbahanpur with his father. He was recognized by all the neighbouring princes, who sent the usual presents on his accession, and the Soda prince of Amerkote made an offer of his daughter in marriage, which was accepted, and the nuptials were solemnized at Amerkote. He had three sons, Kehur, Moolraj,¶ and Gogli.

* The names of these Rajpoot races, several of which are now blotted from the page of existence, prove the fidelity of the original manuscript. The Barahas are now Mahomedans.

† The Boota is amongst the extinct tribes.

‡ Poogul from the most remote times has been inhabited by the Pramar race. It is one of the *No-Koti Maroo-ca* the *nine castles* of the desert.

§ The Sodas of Amerkote have inhabited the desert from time immemorial, and are in all probability the Sogdi of Alexander. See Vol I.

‖ Lodorva will be described hereafter.

¶ Moolraj had three sons, Rajpal, Lohwa, and Choobar. The elder son had two sons, Ranno and Geegoh ; the first of whom had five sons,

"Kehur became renowned for his exploits. Hearing of a caravan (*kafila*) of five hundred horses going from Arore* to Mooltan, he pursued them with a chosen band disguised as camel-merchants, and came up with his prey across the Punjnud, † where he attacked and captured it, and returned to his abode. By such exploits he became known, and the cocoanut (*naryil*) was sent to Mujum Rao, and his two elder sons, by Allansi Deora, of Jhalore. The nuptials were celebrated with great splendour, and on their return, Kehur laid the foundation of a castle, which he named Tunnote in honour of Tunno-devi. Ere it was completed, Rao Mujum died.

"Kehur succeeded. On his accession, Tunnote was attacked by Jesrit, chief of the Barahas,‡ because it was erected on the bounds of his tribe; but Moolraj defended it, and the Barahas were compelled to retire.

"On Mungulwar (Tuesday), the full-moon of Magh, S.787§ A.D. 731), the fortress of Tunnote was completed, and a temple

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Dhookur, Pohor, Bood, Koolro, Jeipal, all of whom had issue and became heads of clans. The descendants of Geegoh bore the name of Khengar (*qu.* chiefs of Girnar?). The annals of all these states abound with similar minute genealogical details, which to the Rajpoots are of the highest importance in enabling them to trace the affinities of families, but which it is imperative to omit, as they possess no interest for the European reader. I have extracted the names of the issue of Moolraj to shew this. The Khengars were famed in the peninsula of Saurashtra—nine of them ruled in Joonagur Girnar: and but for this incidental relation, their origin must have ever remained concealed from the archæologist, as the race has long been extinct. On some future day I hope to present a sketch of Khengar's palace, on the sacred mount Girnar, to the public.

* The remains of this once famous town, the ancient capital of the upper valley of the Indus, I had the happiness to discover by means of one of my parties, in 1811. It is the *Alore* of Abul Fazil, the capital of Raja Sehris, whose kingdom extended north to Cashmeer, and south to the ocean; and the *Azour* of D'Anville, who, on the authority of Ebn Haukal says, "*Azour of est presque comparable a Multan pour la grandeur.*" He adds, that Azizi places it "*trente parasanges de Mansora.*" If Mansora is the ancient Bekher (capital of the Sogdi) we should read *three* instead of *thirty.*

† *Punjnud* is the name which the Indus bears immediately below the point of confluence of the five streams (*punj-nadi*). The mere mention of such terms as the *Punjnud*, and the ancient *Arore*, stamps these annals with authenticity, however they may be deformed by the interpolations and anachronisms of ignorant copyists. Of Arore, or the Punjnud, excepting the regular *casids*, or messengers, perhaps not an individual living in Jessulmeer could now speak.

‡ This shews that the Baraha tribe was of the same faith with the Yadu Bhatti; in fact "the star of Islam" did not shine in these regions for some time after, although Omar, in the first century, had established a colony of the faithful at Bekher, afterwards Mansoora. The Barahas are mentioned by Pottinger in his travels in Balochistan.

§ There are but six descents given from Salbahan, the leader of the Yadu colony from Zabulisthan into the Punjab, and Kehur, the founder of

erected to Tunno-Mata. Shortly after a treaty of peace was formed with the Barahas, which was concluded by the nuptials of their chief with the daughter of Moolraj."

Having thus fairly fixed the Yadu Bhatti chieftain in the land of Maruca, it seems a proper point at which to close this initiatory chapter with some observations on the diversified history of this tribe, crowded into so small a compass; though the notes of explanation, subjoined as we proceeded, will render fewer remarks requisite, since with their help the reader may draw his own conclusions as to the value of this portion of the Bhatti annals, which may be divided into four distinct epochs.

1st. That of Heri, the ancestor of the Yadu race.

2nd. Their expulsion, or the voluntary abandonment of India by his children, with their relations of the Hericula and Pandu races, for the countries west of the Indus; their settlements in Marusthali: the founding of Gujni, and combats with the kings of Room and Khorasan.

3rd. Their expulsion from Zabulisthan, colonization of the Punjab, and creation of the new capital of Salbahanpur.

4th. Their expulsion from the Punjab, and settlement in Mer, the rocky oasis of Maroo, to the erection of Tunnote.

It is the more unnecessary to enter into greater details on these outlines of the early Yadu history, since the subject has been in part treated elsewhere.* A multiplicity of scattered facts and geographical distinctions, fully warrants our assent to the general truth of these records, which prove that the Yadu race had dominion in Central Asia, and were again, as Islamism advanced, repelled upon India. The obscure legend of their encounters with the allied Syrian and Bactrian kings would have seemed altogether illusory, did not evidence exist that Antiochus the Great was slain in these very regions by an Indo-Scythian prince, called by the Greek writers Sophagasenas: a name in all probability compounded from Soobahu and his grandson Gaj (who might have used the common affix of *sena*), the Yadu princes of Gujni, who are both stated to have had conflict with the Bactrian (Khorasan) kings.

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their first settlement in the desert of India. The period of the first is S. 72, of the other S. 787. Either names are wanting, or the period of Salbahan is erroneous. Kehur's period, *viz.*, S. 787, appears a landmark, and is borne out by numerous subsequent most valuable synchronisms. Were we to admit one hundred years to have elapsed between Salbahan and Kehur, it would make the period of expulsion from Zabulisthan about S. 687, which is just about the era of Mahomed.

* See "Essay on the Hindu and Theban Hercules," Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. III.

Seestan (the region of cold, '*see*)', and both sides of the valley, were occupied in the earliest periods by another branch of the Yadus; for the Sind-Samma dynasty was descended from Samba (which like Yadu became a patronymic)—of which the Greeks made *Sambus*—and one of whose descendants opposed Alexander in his progress down the Indus. The capital of this dynasty was *Samma-ca-kote*, Samanagari, yet existing on the lower Indus, and which was corrupted into *Minagara* by the Greeks.

It is an interesting hypothesis, that would make the Chagitais descendants of the Yadus.* In like manner, Bappa, the ancestor of the Ranas of Mewar, abandoned Central India after establishing his line in Cheetore, and retired to Khorasan. All this proves that Hinduism prevailed in these distant regions, and that the intercourse was unrestricted between Central Asia and India. We have undiscovered fields of inquiry in Transoxiana, and in the still more accessible region of the Punjab, where much exists to reward the archæologist: Salbahanpur, Kampilnagari, Behera, the hill of Jud, perhaps Bucephalia,† the seven towns of Ooch, but, above all, the capital of Taxiles. Let us hope that, in this age of enterprize, these suggestions may be followed up: we can promise the adventurer a very

* Mr. Wilson discovered the name of *Pandu* in Ptolemy's Geography of Sogdiana; aad according to Ebn Haukal, the city of Herat is also called Heri. This adjoins Maru, or Murve and to Marusthali the Pandu and Hericula races retired on their exile from India. If ever these remote regions are searched for ancient inscriptions, we may yet ascend the ladder of Time. What was that *Hamiri* language, inscribed on the gate of Samarkand? (Ouseley, Ebu Haukal, p. 254). The lamented death of that enterprizing traveller, Mr. Brown, when he was about visiting Transoxiana, leaves a fine field to the adventurous. The Buddhist colossal sculptures and caves at Bamian, with such inscriptions as they may contain, are of the highest importance; and I have little doubt, will be found of the same character as those discovered in the cave temples of India attributed to the Pandus.

† In a portion of the essay "On the Theban and Hindu Hercules,' which I suppressed as better suited to an intended dissertation "On the Sepulchral Monuments of the Rajpoots," where I trace a close analogy between their customs and those of the Scythic and Scandinavian Warriors, my particular attention was drawn to that singular monument discovered by Elphinstone, called the "*Tope Manikyaula.*" I had before (Trans. R. A. S. Vol. I., p. 330) conjectured it to be one of the many mausoleums erected to Menander, but on observing the geography of St. Croix, in his '*Examen Critique des Historiens d' Alexandre,*' who places the city of Bucephalus on the very spot where the monument found by Mr. E. exists I gave up Menander for Alexander's horse, and this, long anterior to its reported excavation by the Chev. Ventura, for whose subsequent observations we impatiently wait.

different result from that which tempts the explorer of barbarous Africa, for here he would penetrate into the first haunts of civilization, and might solve one of the great problems which still distract mankind.

CHAPTER II.

Rao Kehur, contemporary of the Caliph Al Walid.—His offspring become heads of tribes.—Kehur, the first who extended his conquests to the plains.—He is slain.—Tunno succeeds.—He assails the Barahas and Langas.—Tunnote invested by the prince of Mooltan, who is defeated.—Rao Tunno espouses the daughter of the Boota chief.—His progeny.—Tunno finds a concealed treasure.—Erects the castle of Beejnote.—Tunno dies.—Succeeded by Beeji Rae.—He assails the Baraha tribe, who conspire with the Langas to attack the Bhatti prince.—Treacherous massacre of Beeji Rae and his kindred.—Deoraj saved by a Brahmin.—Tunnote taken.—Inhabitants put to the sword.—Deoraj joins his mother in Bootaban.—Erects Deorawul, which is assailed by the Boota chief, who is circumvented and put to death by Deoraj.—The Bhatti prince is visited by a Jogi, whose disciple he becomes.—Title changed from Rao to Rawul.—Deoraj massacres the Langas, who acknowledge his supremacy.—Account of the Langa tribe.—Deoraj conquers Ladorva, capital of the Lodra Rajpoots.—Avenges an insult of the prince of Dhar.—Singular trait of patriotic devotion.—Assaults Dhar.—Returns to Lodorva.—Excavates lakes in Khadal.—Assassinated.—Succeeded by Rawul Moond, who avenges his father's death.—His son Bachera espouses the daughter of Bullub Sen, of Puttun Anhulwarra.—Contemporaries of Mahmoud of Gujni.—Captures a caravan of horses.—The Pahoo Bhattis conquer Poogul from the Johyas.—Doosaj, son of Bachera, attacks the Kheechies.—Proceeds with his three brothers to the land of Kher, where they expouse the Gohilote chief's daughters.—Important synchronisms.—Bachera dies.—Doosaj succeeds.—Attacked by the Soda prince Hamir, in whose reign the Caggar ceased to flow through the desert.—Traditional couplet.—Sons of Doosaj.—The youngest, Lanja Beejirae, marries the daughter of Sidraj Solanki, king of Anhul-

warra.—The other sons of Doosaj.—Jesul, and Beejirae.—Bhojdeo, son of Lanja Beejirae, becomes lord of Lodorva on the death of Doosaj.—Jesul conspires against his nephew Bhojdeo.—Solicits aid from the Sultan of Ghor, whom he joins at Arore—Swears allegiance to the Sultan.—Obtains his aid to dispossess Bhojdeo.—Lodorva attacked and plundered.—Bhojdeo slain.—Jesul becomes Rawul of the Bhattis.—Abandons Lodorva as too exposed.—Discovers a site for a new capital.—Prophetic inscription on the Brimsir-coond, or fountain.—Founds Jessulmeer.—Jesul dies, and is succeeded by Salbahan II.

THE dates of the varied events, related in the preceding chapter, may be of doubtful accuracy, but we have at length arrived on the *terra firma* of the Bhatti chronology. We may distrust the date, 3008 of Yudishthira's era, for the victory obtained by the Jadoon prince of Gujni over the kings of Room and Khorasan ;* as well as that of S. 72 assigned for the exode of Salbahan and his Yadus from Zabulisthan, and their colonization of the Punjab :† but their settlements in the desert, and the foundation of Tunnote, their first seat of power, in S. 787 (A. D. 731), are corroborated by incontrovertible synchronisms in almost every subsequent reign of these annals.

Kehur, a name highly respected in the history of the Bhatti race, and whose exploit has been already recorded, must have been the contemporary of the celebrated Khalif Al Walid, the first whose arms extended to the plains of India, and one of whose earliest conquests and chief positions was Arore, the capital of Upper Sinde.

Kehur‡ had five sons; *viz.*, Tunno, Ootirao, Chunnur, Kafrio, Thaem. All of them had offspring,§ who became the

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* The emperor Baber tells us, in his Commentaries, that the people of India apply the term *Khorasan*, to all the regions west of the Indus.

† Notwithstanding the lapse of eleven hundred years since the expulsion of the Bhattis from the Punjab, and in spite of the revolutions in law, language, and religion, since the descendants of Salbahan abandoned that region, yet, even to this day, there is abundant testimony in its geographical nomenclature that the Bhattis had dominion there. We have *Pindi Bhattia-ca*, *Bhatti-ca-chuk*, in the very position where we should look for Salbahanpur.—See Elphinstone's Map.

‡ Although I omit the inverted commas indicative of translation, the reader is to understand that what follows is a free interpretation of the original chronicle.

§ Ooti-rao had five sons, Sorna, Sehesi, Jeeva, Chako and Ujo ; their issu had the generic term of *Ootirao*. It is thus their clans and tribes are multiplied *ad infinitum*, and since the skill of the genealogist (*bhat*) is

heads of clans, retaining the patronymic. All were soldiers of fortune, and they conquered the lands of the Chunna Rajpoots:* but the latter revenged themselves upon Kehur, whom they attacked and slew as he was hunting.

Tunno succeeded. He laid waste the lands of the Barahas,† and those of the Langaha of Mooltan. But Husein Shah advanced with the Langaha Pathans,‡ clothed in armour with iron helms, with the men of Doodi,§ of Kheechee,‖ the Khokur,¶ the Mogul, the Johya,** the Jood,** and Syed, all mounted on horses, to the number of ten thousand men, to attack the Jadoo. They reached the territory of the Barahas, who joined, them, and there they encamped. Tunno collected his brethren

required to keep them clear of incestuous marriages, even such uninteresting details have some value, as they stamp their annals with authenticity.

* The tribe of Chunna is now extinct.

† These Indo-Scythic tribes were designated by the names of animals. The *Barahas* are the hogs; the *Noomries*, the foxes; *Takshacs*, the snakes; *Aswas* or *Asi*, the horses, &c.

‡ These Langaha Pathans were proselytes from the Solanki Rajpoots, one of the four Agnicula races. Probably they inhabited the district of Lumghan, west of the Indus. It is curious and interesting to find that the Solanki *gotra-acharya*, or 'genealogical creed,' claims Lokote as their settlement. The use of the word *Pathan* by no means precludes there being Hindus.

§ Baber, in his valuable Autobiography, gives us the names of all the tribes he met in his passage into India, and this enumeration goes far to prove the authenticity of the early annals of the Bhattis. Baber does not mention "the men of Doodi."

‖ The introduction of the name of this tribe here is highly important, and very interesting to those who have studied, in the Rajpoot bards, their early history. The bards of the Kheechees give them this northern origin, and state that all *Sindsagur*, one of the *do-abehs* of the Punjab, belonged to them.

¶ The Khokur is most probably the Ghiker. Baber writes the name 'Guker,' a singular race, and decidedly Scythic in their habits even in this day.

** Of the Joodis and Johyas we have already spoken as inhabiting the range called in the native annals *Juddoo-ca-dang*, and by Baber 'the hill of Jud,' skirting the Behat.—The position of Behera is laid down in that monument of genius and industry, the Memoir of Rennel (who calls it Bheera), in 32° N. and 72° 10′ E.: and by Elphinstone in 22° 10′, but a whole degree further to the east, or 73° 15′. This city, so often mentioned in the Yadu-Bhatti annals as one of their intermediate places of repose, on their expulsion from India and migration to Central Asia, has its position minutely pointed out by the Emperor Baber (p. 256), who, in his attack on the hill tribes of Jits, Geojurs, Gukers, &c., adjoining Cashmeer, "expelled Hati Guker from Behreh, on the Behut River, near the cave-temples of Gar-kotri at Bikrum," of which the able annotator remarks, that as well as those of But Bamian, they were probably Buddhist. Baber (p. 294) also found the Jits masters of Sialkote, most likely the Salpoor of the Inscription, conquered from a Jit prince in the twelfth century by the Patun prince, and presumed to be the Salbahanpur founded by the fugitive Yadu prince of Gujni

around him, and prepared for defence. During four days they defended the castle; and on the fifth the Rao ordered the gates to be thrown open, and with his son, Beeji Rao, sallied out sword in hand, and attacked the besiegers. The Barahas were the first to fly, and they were soon followed by the rest of the Asoors. The victors carried the spoils of the field into Tunnote. As soon as the armies of Mooltan and Langaha were driven off, the *coco-nut* came from Jeejoo, chief of the Bootas of Bootaban,* and an alliance, offensive and defensive, was formed against the prince of Mooltan.

Tunno had five sons, Beeji Rae, Makur, Jeytung, Allun, and Rakecho. The second son, Makur, had issue Maipah, who had two sons, Mohola and Decao, the latter of whom excavated the lake known by his name. His issue became carpenters (*shotar*), and are to this day known as the 'Makur sootar.'†

The third son, Jeytung, had two sons, Ruttunsi and Chohir. The first repaired the ruined city of Beekumpur.‡ Chohir had two sons, Kola and Gir-raj, who founded the towns of Kolasir and Girajsir.‡

The fourth son, Allun, had four sons, Deosi, Tirpal, Bhaoni, and Rakecho. The descendants of Deosi became Rebarris (who rear camels), and the issue of Rakecho became merchants (*baniahs*), and are now classed amongst the Oswal tribe.§

Tunno having, by the interposition of the goddess Beejasenni, discovered a hidden treasure, erected a fortress, which he named Peejnote; and in this he placed a statue of the goddess, on the 13th, the enlightened part of the month Megsir, the Rohini Nakshatra, S. 813 (A. D. 757). He died after ruling eighty years.

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* Bootaban, probably from *vanu*, pronounced in the dialect *bun*, the 'wild, or' 'forest' of Boota.

† Illegitimate children can never overcome this natural defect amongst the Rajpoots. Thus we find among all classes of artizans in India, some of royal but spurious descent.

‡ These towns and lakes are well known, but have been seized by Bikaneer.

§ The Oswal is the richest and most numerous of the eighty-four mercantile tribes of India, and is said to amount to one hundred thousand families. They are called '*Oswal*' from their first settlement, the town of Ossi. They are all of pure Rajpoot birth, of no single tribe, but chiefly Puars, Solankis, and Bhattis. All profess the Jain tenets, and it is a curious fact, though little known, that the pontiffs of that faith must be selected from the youth of Ossi. The wealthy bankers and merchants of these regions scattered throughout India, are all known under one denomination, *Marwari*, which is erroneously supposed to apply to the Jodhpur territory, whereas, in fact, it means belonging to the desert. It is singular that the wealth of India should centre in this region of comparative sterility.

Beeji Rae succeeded in S. 870 (A. D. 814). He commenced his reign with the *teeka-dour* against his old enemies, the Barahas, whom he defeated and plundered. In S. 892, he had a son by the Boota queen, who was called Deoraj. The Barahas and Langahas once more united to attack the Bhatti prince; but they were defeated and put to flight. Finding that they could not succeed by open warfare, they had recourse to treachery. Having, under pretence of terminating this long feud, invited young Deoraj to marry the daughter of the Baraha chief, the Bhattis attended, when Beeji Rae and eight hundred of his kin and clan were massacred. Deoraj escaped to the house of the Purohit (of the Barahas, it is presumed), whither he was pursued. There being no hope of escape, the Brahmin threw the Brahminical thread round the neck of the young prince, and in order to convince his pursuers that they were deceived as to the object of their search, he sat down to eat with him from the same dish. Tunnote was invested and taken, and nearly every soul in it put to the sword, so that the very name of Bhatti was for a while extinct.

Deoraj remained for a long time concealed in the territory of the Barahas; but at length he ventured to Boota, his maternal abode, where he had the happiness to find his mother, who had escaped the massacre at Tunnote. She was rejoiced to behold her son's face, and "waved the salt over his head," then threw it into the water, exclaiming "thus may your enemies melt away!" Soon tired of life of dependence, Deoraj asked for a single village, which was promised; but the kin of the Boota chief alarmed him, and he recalled it, and limited his grant to such a quantity of land as he could encompass by the thongs cut from a single buffalo's hide; and this, too, in the depth of the desert. For this expedient he was indebted to the architect Kekeya, who had constructed the castle of Bhutnair.* Deoraj immediately commenced erecting a place of

* This deception practised by the Bhatti chief to obtain land on which to erect a fortress is not unknown in other parts of India, and in more remote regions. Bhutnair owes its name to this expedient, from the division (*bhatna*) of the hide. The etymology of *Calcutta* is the same, but should be written *Khalcutta*, from the cuttings of the hide (*khal*). Byrsa the castle of Carthage, originates from the same story. If there existed any affinity between the ancient *Pali* language of India and the Punic or Phœnician (as the names of its princes and their adjuncts of *bal* would indicate), and the letters B and Ch were as little dissimilar in Punic as in Sanscrit, then *Byrsa* would become *chursa*, 'hide or skin,' which might have originated the capital of the African Mauritania, as of the Indian Maruthan. Thus Marocco may be from *Maru-ca*, of, or belonging to Maru, *the desert*, also probably the origin of the *Murve* of Iran. The term Moor may likewise be corrupted from Mauri, an inhabrtant of Maruca,

strength which he called after himself Deogurh, or Deorawul,* on Monday, the 5th of the month Magh (*soodi*), the Pookh Nakshatra, S. 909.

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while the Sehrae of our Indian desert is the brother in name and profession of the Saracen of Arabia, from Sehra, *a desert*, and zuddun, to *assault*. The Nomadic princes of Mauritania might, therefore, be the *Pali* or shepherd kings of *Maruthan*, the great African desert. And who were these Philita or *Pali* kings of Barbary and Egypt? It is well known that the Berbers who inhabited Abyssinia and the south coast of the Red Sea, migrated to the northern coast, not only occupying it, as well as Mount Atlas, but pushing their tribes far into the grand *sehra*, or desert. To those colonists, that coast owes its name of Barbary. From the days of Solomon and his contemporary Sishac, an intimate communication subsisted between the eastern coast of Africa and India; and I have already hazarded the opinion, that we must look to this coast of Æthiopia and Abyssinia for the Lanka of the Rameses (Rameswar) of India; and from the former country the most skilful archæologists assert that Egypt had her mythology, and more especially that mystery, the prominent feature of both systems—the *Phallic* rites, or worship of the *lingum*. *Berber*, according to Bruce, means a shepherd, and as *ber* is a ship in the language of India, *Berber* is a shepherd in the most literal sense, and consequently the synonym of *Pali*. It has been asserted that this race colonized these coasts of Africa from India about the time of Amenophis, and that they are the *Yksos*, or 'shepherd-kings,' who subjugated Egypt. On this account a comparison of the ancient architectural remains of Abyssinia and Æthiopia with those of the ancient Hindus is most desirable. It is asserted, and with appearance of truth, that the architecture of the Pyramids is distinct from the Pharaonic, and that they are at once Astronomic and Phallic. In India, the symbolic pinnacle surmounting the temples of the sun-god are always pyramidal. If the forthcoming history of the Berbers should reveal the mystery of their first settlements in Abyssinia, a great object would be attained; and if search were made in the old cave-temples of that coast, some remains of the characters they used might aid in tracing their analogy to the ancient Pali of the East: an idea suggested by an examination of the few characters found in the grand desert inhabited by the Tuaricks, which have a certain resemblance to the Punic, and to the unknown characters attributed to the Indo-Scythic tribes of India, as on their coins and cave-temples. Wide asunder as are these regions, the mind that will strive to lessen the historical separation may one day be successful, when connexion between Æthiopia (q.d. from *aditya* and contracted *ait*, the Sun?) and Saurashtra, 'the land of the Sun,' or Syria of India, may become more tangible. Ferishta (*vide* Briggs' Translation, Vol. IV., p. 408,) quoting original authorities, says, "inhabitants of Selandip, or the island of Ceylon, were accustomed to send vessels to the coast of Africa, to the Red Sea, and Persian Gulf, from the earliest ages, and Hindu pilgrims resorted to Mecca and Egypt for the purpose of paying adoration to the idols. It is related also that this people trading from Ceylon became converts to the true faith at so early a period as the first caliphs," all which confirms the fact of early intercourse between Egypt and India.

* Deorawul was one of the points of halt in Elphinstone's mission to Cabul. This discloses to us the position of the Boota territory, and as astronomical data are given, those inclined to prove or disprove the Bhatti chronology have ample means afforded.

Soon as the Boota chief heard that his son-in-law was erecting, not a dwelling, but a castle, he sent a force to raze it. Deoraj despatched his mother with the keys to the assailants, and invited the leaders to receive the castle and his homage; when the chief men, to the number of a hundred and twenty, entering, were inveigled, under pretence of consultation, ten at a time, and each party put to death and their bodies thrown over the wall. Deprived of their leaders, the rest took to flight.

Soon after, the prince was visited by his patron, the Jogi who had protected him amongst the Barahas, and who now gave him the title of *Sid.* This Jogi, who possessed the art of transmuting metals, lodged in the same house where Deoraj found protection on the massacre of his father and kindred. One day, the holy man had gone abroad, leaving his *jirghir-kunta*, or 'tattered doublet,' in which was the *Rascoompa*, or 'elixir vessel,' a drop of which having fallen on the dagger of Deoraj and changed it to gold, he decamped with both, and it was by the possession of this he was enabled to erect Deorawul. The Jogi was well aware of the chief whom he now came to visit; and he confirmed him in the possession of the stolen property, on one condition, that he should become his *chela* and disciple, and, as a token of submission and fidelity, adopt the external symbols of the Jogi. Deoraj assented, and was invested with the Jogi robe of ochre.* He placed the *moodra*† in his ear, the little horn round his neck, and the bandage (*langota*) about his loins; and with the gourd (*cupra*) in his hand, he perambulated the dwellings of his kin, exclaiming, *Alue*! *Alue*!‡ The gourd was filled with gold and pearls; the title of *Rao* was abandoned for that of *Rawul*;§ the *teeka* was made on his forehead; and exacting a pledge that these rites of inauguration should be continued to the latest posterity, the Baba Ritu (for such was the Jogi's name) disappeared.

Deoraj determined to wreak his revenge on the Barahas, and he enjoyed it even "to stripping the scarfs from the heads of their females.' On his return to Deorawul, he prepared for an attack on Langaha, the heir of which was then on a marriage expedition at Aeepur. There, Deoraj attacked and slew a thousand of them, the rest henceforth acknowledged his supremacy. The Langahas were gallant Rajpoots.

* Called *geeroo*; garments coloured with this dye are worn by all classes of mendicants.

† The moodra is a round prickly seed worn by the ascetics as ear-rings.

‡ The Supreme Being; the Universal and One God.

§ *Rawul* is still the title of the princes of Jessulmeer, as it once was that of the Mewar house.

As the tribe of La[illegible], or Langa, will form this period go hand in hand in all [illegible] international wars of the Yadu-Bhattis, from their exp[illegible]om the Punjab to their final settlement in the India[illegible]ser[illegible]is of some interest to trace its origin and destiny. It is distinctly stated that, at this epoch, the Langas were [illegible]oots; and they are, in fact, a sub-division of the Sol[illegible] or Chalook race, one of the four *Agnicula*; and it is important to observe that in their *gotra-charya*, or 'genealogical creed;' they cl[illegible] Lokote in the Punjab as their early religion; [illegible] probably prior to their regeneration on Mount Abu, when they adopted Brahminical principles. From the year S. 787 (A. D. 731), when the castle of Tunnote was erected by the leader of the Bhatti colony, down to S. 1530 (A. D. 1474), a period of [illegible]ten hundred and forty-three years, perpetual border [illegible]ear[illegible]o have occurred between the Bhattis and Langas, [illegible]inated in that singular combat, or duel, of tribe against [illegible], during the reign of Rawul Chachik, in the last-m[illegible]l period. Shortly after this, Baber conquered India, [illegible]ltan became a province of the empire, when the author[illegible]es ceased. Ferishta, however, comes to our aid and gives us an account of an entire dynasty of this tribe as kings of Mooltan. The first of this line of five kings began his reign A. H. 847 (A. D. 1443), or thirty years anterior to the death of Rawul Chachik. The Mooslem historian (see Briggs' Ferishta, Vol. IV, p. 388), says that when Khizer Khan Syud was emperor of Delhi, he sent Sheikh Yusooph as his lieutenant to Mooltan, who gained the esteem of the surrounding princes; amongst whom was Rae Sehra, head of the tribe of Langa, who came to congratulate him and to offer his services and [illegible] daughter in marriage. The offer [illegible]s accepted; constant communication was kept up between Seevee and Mooltan, till at length Rae Sehra discosed the object of all this solicitude; he threw aside the mask, confined the Sheikh, sent him off to Delhi, and crowned himself king of Mooltan under the title of Kootub-u-din.

Ferishta calls Rae Sehra and his tribe of Langa, Afghans, and Abul Fazl says, the inhabitants of Seevee were of the *Noomrie* (fox) tribe, which is assuredly one of the most numerous of the Jit or Gete race, though they have all, since their conversion, adopted the distinctive term of *Baloch*. The Bhatti chronicle calls the Langas in one page *Pathan*, and in another *Rajpoot*, which are perfectly reconcileable, and by no means indicative that the Pathan or Afghan of that early period, or even in the time of Rae Sehra, was a Mahomedan. The title of Rae is sufficient proof that they were even then Hindus. Mr. Elphinstone scouts the idea of the descent of the Afghans

from the Jews; and not a trace of the Hebrew is found in the Pooshtoo, or language of this tribe, although it has much affinity to the Zend and Sanskrit. I cannot refrain from repeating my conviction of the origin of the Afghans from the Yadu, converted into *Yahudi* or 'Jew.' Whether these Yadus were or were not *Yuti*, or Getes, remains to be proved.

To the south of Deorawul dwelt the Lodra [illegible] their capital was Lodorva, an immense city, having two gates. The family Purohit, having been offended, took sanctuary (*dharna*) with Deoraj, and stimulated him to dispossess his old neighbours of their territory. A marriage was proposed to Nirp-bhan, the chief of the Lodras, which being accepted, Deoraj, at the head of twelve hundred chosen horse, departed for Lodorva. The gates of the city were thrown open as the bridegroom approached; but no sooner had he entered [illegible] than swords were drawn, and Deoraj made himself master of Lodorva.* He married the chief's daughter, left a garrison in Lodorva, and returned to Deorawul. Deoraj was now lord of fifty-six thousand horse, and a hundred thousand [illegible].†

At this period, a merchant of Deorawul, named Jiskurn, having gone to Dharanagari, was imprisoned by its prince, Brijbhan Puar, and compelled to pay a ransom for his liberty. On his return to Deorawul, he showed the mark of the iron-collar to his sovereign, who, indignant at the dishonour put upon his subject, swore he would not drink water until he had avenged the insult. But he had not calculated the distance between him and his foe; in order, however, to redeem his pledge, a *Dhar* of clay (*gar-ra-dhar*) was constructed, on which he was about to wreak his vengeance. It there were Pramars in his army, who were at their post ready to defend their mock capital; and, as their astonished prince advanced to destroy it, they exclaimed—

Jin Puar thyan Dhar hyn
Or Dhar thyan Puar

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* We are not told of what race (*cula*) was the Lodra Rajpoot; in all probability it was Pramara, or Puar, which at one time occupied the whole desert of India. Lodorva, as will be seen, became the capital of the Bhattis, until the founding of their last and present capital, Jessulmeer; it boasts a high antiquity, though now a ruin, occupied by a few families of shepherds. Many towns throughout the desert were formerly of celebrity, but are now desolate, through the conjoined causes of perpetual warfare and the shifting sands. I obtained a copper-plate inscription of the tenth century from Lodorva, of the period of Beejiraj in the ornamental Jain character; also some clay signets, given to pilgrims, bearing Jain symbols. All these relics attest the prevailing religion to have been Jain.

† A gross exaggeration of the annalist or a cypher in each added by the copyist.

Dhar binna Puar nuhyn
Or nuhyn Puar binna Dhar,

which may be thus translated:

"Wherever there is a Puar, *there* is a Dhar; and where there is a Dhar *there* is a Puar. There is no Dhar without a Puar; neither is there a Puar without a Dhar."* Under their leaders, Tejsi and Sarung, they protected the mock Dhar, and were cut to pieces to the number of one hundred and twenty. Deoraj approved their valour, and provided for their children. Being thus released from his oath, he proceeded towards Dhar, reducing those who opposed his progress. Brij-bhan defended Dhar during five days, and fell with eight hundred of his men; upon which Deoraj unfurled the flag of victory and returned to his late conquest, the city of Lodorva.

Deoraj had two sons, Moond and Chedoo; the last, by a wife of the Baraha tribe, had five sons, whose descendants were styled Cheda Rajpoots. Deoraj excavated several large lakes in the territory of Khadal (in which Deorawul is situated); one at Tunnote is called Tunno-sirr; another, after himself, Deo-sirr. Having one day gone to hunt, slightly attended, he was attacked by an ambush of the Chunna Rajpoots, and slain with twenty-six of his attendants, after having reigned fifty-five years. His kin and clans shaved, their locks and moustaches excepting.†

Moond, who succeeded and performed all the ceremonies during the twelve days, having made his ablutions with the water from sixty-eight different wells, in which were immersed the leaves of one hundred and eight different shrubs and trees, a female of spotless virtue waved the burning frankincense over his head. Before him was placed the *punj-amrit*, consisting of curds, milk, butter, sugar, and honey; likewise pearls, gems, the royal umbrella, the grass called *dhoob*, various flowers, a looking-glass, a young virgin, a chariot, a flag or banner, the *vela* flower, seven sorts of grain, two fish, a horse, a *nulh-aunk* (unknown), a bullock, a shell, a lotus a vessel of water, the tail of the wild ox (*chamar*), a female calf, a litter, yellow clay, and prepared food. Then, seated on the *lion's hide*,—(on which were painted the seven *dwipas* or continents of Hindu cosmography, apparelled in the dress of the Jogi, and covered with ashes (*bhuboot*), with the *moodra* on his ears),

* Dhar, or Dharanagari was the most ancient capital of this tribe, the most numerous of the Agnicula races. See a sketch of the Puars, or Pramaras, Vol. I.

† There is no *interregnum* in Rajwarra: the king never dies.

—the white *chamar* (ox-tail) was waved over his head, and he was inaugurated on the *gadi* of Deoraj, while the Purohit and chiefs presented their offerings. The *teeka-dour* was against the assassins of his father, who had congregated for defence, eight hundred of whom were put to death. Rawul Moond had one son, who was called Bachera. When about fourteen years of age the *coco-nut* came from Bullub-sen Solanki, Raja of Patun.* He forthwith proceeded to Patun, where he married the Solanki princess, and died not long after his father.

Bachera succeeded on Saturday, the 12th Sravan, S. 1035.† The same rites of installation were performed; the *kanferra* (split-eared) Jogi was the first to put the regal *tiluc* on his forehead, and 'his hand upon his back.' Rawul Bachera had five sons, Doosaj, Singh, Bappi Rao, Unkho, and Maall-Pusao; all of whom had issue, forming clans.

A merchant came to Lodorva with a caravan of horses, of which there was one of a race so superior, that a lakh of rupees was fixed as his price; the breed belonged to a Pathan chief, west of the Indus. To obtain it, Doosaj and his son Unkho put themselves at the head of a band, crossed the Indus, slew Gazi Khan, the Pathan chief, and carried off his stud.

Singh had a son, Sacha-rae; his son was Balla, who had two sons, Rutun and Jugga; they attacked the Puribar prince Juggernath of Mundore, and carried off five hundred camels: their descendants are styled Singrao Rajpoots.

Bappi Rao had two sons, Pahoo and Mandun. Pahoo had likewise two, Beerum and Toolir, whose numerous issue were styled the Pahoo Rajpoots. The Pahoos issued from their abode of Beekumpur, and conquered the lands of Johyas, as far as *Devi-jhaul*; and having made Poogul‡ their capital,

* This affords a most important synchronism, corroborative of the correctness of these annals. Raja Bullub-sen of Patun (Anhulwarra) immediately followed Chamund Rae, who was dispossessed of the throne by Mahomoud of Ghizni, in the year A. D. 1011, or S. 1067. Bullub-sen died the year of his installation, and was succeeded by Doorlubh, whose period has also been synchronically fixed by an inscription belonging to the Pramaras.—See Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I., p. 223.

† This date, S. 1035, is evidently an error of the copyist. Bachera married Bullub-sen's daughter in S. 1067, and he died in S. 1100; so that it should be either S. 1055 or 1065. It is important to clear this point, as Rawul Bachera was the oponent of Mahmoud of Ghizni in his invasion of India, A. H. 393, A. D. 1000, = S. 1065 or S. 1066, the Samvat era being liable to a variation of ten years (Colebrooke). If we are right, a passage of Ferishta, which has puzzled the translators, should run thus: "Mahmoud directed his march against the Bhatti, and passing Mooltan, arrived at Behatia, a Bhatti city."—Compare Dow, Vol. I., p. 58. (4th edit.) and Briggs, Vol. I., p. 38.

‡ This was one of the points touched at in Mr. Elphinstone's journey.

they dug numerous well in the *thul*, which still go by the name of the Pahoo wells.

Near Khatoh, in the Nagore district of Marwar, there dwelt a warrior of the Kheechee tribe, named Jiddra, who often plundered even to the gates of Poogul, slaying many of the Jytung Bhattis. Doosaj prepared a *kafila* ('caravan,') under pretence of making a pilgrimage to the Ganges, invaded unawares the Kheechee chief's territory, and slew him, with nine hundred of his men.

Doosaj, with his three brothers, went to the land of Kher, where dwelt Pertap Sing, chief of the Gohilotes,* whose daughters they espoused. "In the land of Kher, the Jadoon showered gold, enriching it." In the *daeja* (dower) with his daughter, the Gohilote gave fifteen *Dewa-darries*, or 'virgin lamp-holders'. Soon after, the Baloches made an inroad into the territory of Khadal; a battle ensued, in which five hundred were killed, and the rest fled beyond the river. Bachera died, and was succeeded by

Doosaj, in the month of Asar, S. 1100. Hamir, prince of the Sodas,† made an incursion in his territories, which he plundered. Doosaj, having unavailingly remonstrated, reminding him of ancient ties, he marched into Dhat, and gained a victory. Doosaj had two sons, Jesul and Beejiraj, and in his old age a third son, by a Ranawut princess of the house of Mewar, called *Lanja* Beejirae, who, when Doosaj died, was placed on the throne by the nobles and civil officers of the state. Previous to his elevation, he had espoused a daughter of Sidraj Jey Sing, Solanki. During the nuptial ceremonies, as the mother of the bride was marking the forehead of the bridegroom with the *tiluk*, or 'inauguration mark,' she exclaimed, "My son, do thou become the portal of the north—the barrier between us and the king, whose power is becoming strong"‡ By the princess of Putun, he had a son, who was

* The chief of the Gohilotes is now settled at the Bhaonuggur at the estuary of the Myhie; where I visited him in 1823. The migration of the family from Kherdhur occurred about a century after that period, according to the documents in the Rao's family. And we have only to look at the opening of the Annals of Marwar to see that from its colonization by the Rahtores, the Gohil community of *Kherdhur* was finally extinguished. To the general historian these minute facts may be unimportant, but they cease to be so when they prove the character of these annals for fidelity.

† If this is the Hamira alluded to in the Annals of Bikaneer, in whose time the Caggar river ceased to flow in these lands, we have another date assigned to a fact of great physical importance.

‡ Here we have another synchronism In the *Komarpul Charitra*, or history of the kings of Anhulwarra Putun, the reign of Sidraj was

named Bhojdeo, and who, by the death of his father when he attained the age of twenty-five, became lord of Lodorva. The other sons of Doosaj were at this time advanced in manhood, Jesul being thirty-five, and Beejiraj thirty-two years of age.

Some years before the death of Doosaj, Raedhuwal Puar, son (or descendant) of Udyadit of Dhar, had three daughters, one of whom he betrothed to Jeipal (Ajipal) Solanki, son of Sidraj ;* another to Beejiraj Bhatti, and the third to the Rana of Cheetore. The Bhatti prince left Lodorva for Dhar at the head of seven hundred horse, and arrived at the same time with the Seesodia and Solanki princes. On his return to Lodorva, he erected a temple to *Sheslinga*, close to which he made a lake. By the Puar princess he had a son named Rahir, who had two sons, Netsi and Keksi.

Bhojdeo had not long occupied the *gadi* of Lodorva, when his uncle Jesul conspired against him ; but being always surrounded by a guard of five hundred Solanki Rajpoots, his person was unassailable. At this time, the prince of Puttun was often engaged with the king's troops from Tatha. Jesul, in pursuance of his plan, determined to coalesce with the king and cause an attack on Puttun (Anhulwarra), by which alone he could hope for the departure of the Solanki body-guard. Jesul,

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from S.1150 to S.1201, or A. D. 1094 to 1145 ; the point of time intermediate between the invasion of Mahmoud of Ghizni and the final conquest of India by Shabudin, during which there were many irruptions into India by the lieutenants of the monarch of Ghizni. There was one in the reign of Musood, in A. H. 492 (A. D. 1098), four years after the accession of Sidraj ; another in A. D. 1120, in the reign of Byram Shaw, during which, according to Ferishta, the Ghaznevide general, Balin, rebelled and assailed the Hindu Rajas from Nagore, where he established himself. In all probability this is the event alluded to by the queen of Puttun, when she nominated the Bhatti prince as her champion.

* The mention of these simultaneous intermarriages in three of the principal Rajpoot monarchies of that day, *viz.*, Dhar, Puttun, and Cheetore, is important, not only as establishing fresh synchronisms, but as disclosing the intercourse between the Bhattis and the more ancient princely families of India. Udyadit Pramar has been established beyond cavil (see Trans. R. A. S. Vol. I., p. 223), and that of Sidraj, likewise, whose son and successor, Ajipal, had but a short reign when he was deposed by Komarpal, whose date is also found from inscription. It is a singular fact, that all the Rajpoot dynasties of these regions were established about the same epoch, *viz.*, Puttun by the Churas, Cheetore by the Gehlotes, Delhi, refounded by the Tuars, and the Bhatti principality by the descendant of Salbahan. This was in the middle of the eighth century of Vicramaditya, when the older Hindu governments were broken up. The admission of the Bhatti to intermarry with their families proves one of two facts ; either that they were considered Rajpoots, notwithstanding there being inhabitants of the regions beyond the Indus ; or, that the families mentioned, with which they intermarried, were Indo-Scythic like themselves.

with his chief kin, escorted by two hundred horse, marched to the Punjnud, where he saw the king of Ghor, who had just overcome the king of Tatha,* and placed his own garrison there, and accompanied him to Arore, the ancient capital of Sind. There he unfolded his views, and having sworn allegiance to the king, he obtained a force to dispossess his nephew of his territory. Lodorva was encompassed, and Bhojdeo slain in its defence. In two days the inhabitants were to carry off their effects, and on the third the troops of Ghor were permitted the license of plunder. Lodorva was sacked, and Kureem Khan departed for Bekher with the spoils.

Jesul thus obtained the *gadi* of Lodorva; but it being open to invasion, he sought a spot better adapted for defence, and he found one only five Coss (ten miles) from Lodorva. Upon the summit of a rocky ridge, he discovered a Brahmin, whose solitary hermitage adjoined the fountain of Brimsir. Having paid homage, and disclosed the purport of his visit, the recluse related the history of the triple-peaked hill, which overlooked his hermitage. He said, that in the *Treta*, or 'silver age,' a celebrated ascetic called Kak, or Kaga, resided at this fountain, after whom the rivulet which issued thence had its name of Kaga; that the Pandu Arjoon, with Heri Crishna, came there to attend a great sacrifice, on which occasion Crishna foretold that, in some distant age, a descendant of his should erect a town on the margin of that rivulet, and should raise a castle on *Tricuta*, the triple-peaked mount.† While Crishna thus prophesied, it was observed to him by Arjoon, that the water was bad, when Crishna smote the rock with his *chakra* (discus), whereupon a sweet spring bubbled up, and on its margin were inscribed the prophetic stanzas which the

* At every step we see, however meagre may be the outline, the correctness of this historical sketch. It was, according to Ferishta, in A. H. 555 (A. D. 1159, or S. 1215), that the prince of Ghor conquered Ghizni, and immediately after overran Mooltan and Sindh (see Briggs, Vol. I., p. 157); and doubtless it was on this occasion that the Bhatti prince swore allegiance to Shabudin, and obtained the force which drove his nephew from Lodorva, which being sacked by his auxiliaries, he founded Jessulmeer in S. 1212. The three years' discrepancy between the Mahomedan and Hindu dates is of little consequence; but even this could be remedied, when we recollect that the Samvat, according to Mr. Colebrooke, is liable to a variation of ten years.

† If there were no better support for the assumed descent of the Bhatti founder of Jessulmeer from the *Yadus* of the *Bharat*, than this prophecy, we should be confirmed in our suspicion that they are a colony of the *Yuti*, and that the Brahmins took advantage of the nominal resemblance to incorporate them in the *Chatecs Rajula*, or thirty-six royal race.

hermit Eesul now pointed out to the Bhatti prince, who read as follows :—

1.

"Oh prince of Jidoo-vansa! come into this land, and on this mountain's top erect a triangular castle.

2.

"Lodorva is destroyed, but only five Coss therefrom is Jesanoh, a site of twice its strength.

3.

"Prince whose name is Jesul, who will be of Yadu race, abandon Lodorpura; here erect thy dwelling."

The hermit Eesul alone knew the existence of the fountain on whose margin these lines were engraved. All that he stipulated for himself was, that the fields to the westward of the castle should retain his name, "the fields of Eesul." He foretold that the intended castle should twice and a half times be sacked; that rivers of blood would flow, and that for a time all would be lost to his descendants.

On *Rubwar*, 'the day of the sun,' (a favourite day for commencing any grand undertaking with all these tribes), the 12th of Sarvan, the enlightened half of the moon, S. 1212 (A. D. 1156), the foundation of Jessulmeer was laid, and soon the inhabitants, with all that was valuable, abandoned Lodorva,* and began to erect new habitations. Jessul had two sons, Kailur and Salbahan. He chose his chief ministers and advisers from the children of Sodil, of the Pahoo tribe, who became too powerful. Their old enemies, the Chunna Rajpoots again invaded the lands of Khadal; but they suffered for their audacity. Jesul survived this event five years, when he died, and was succeeded by his youngest son, Salbahan the II.

* Lodorva remains in ruins; a journey thither might afford subject-matter for the antiquary, and enable him to throw light upon the origin of the Bhatti tribe. It is ten miles N. W. of the present capital.

CHAPTER III.

Preliminary observations.—The early history of the Bhattis not devoid of interest.—Traces of their ancient manners and religion.—The chronicle resumed.—Jesul survives the change of capital twelve years.—The heir Kailun banished.—Salbahan, his younger brother, succeeds.—Expedition against the Catti or Cathi.—Their supposed origin.—Application from the Yadu prince of Badrinath for a prince, to fill the vacant gadi.*—During Salbahan's absence, his son Beejil usurps the* gadi.*—Salbahan retires to Khadal, and falls in battle against the Baloches.—Beejil commits suicide.—Kailun recalled and placed on the* gadi.*—His issue form clans.—Khizzur Khan Baloch again invades Khadal.—Kailun attacks him, and avenges his father's death.—Death of Kailun.—Succeeded by Chachik Deo.—He expels the Chunna Rajpoots.—Defeats the Sodas of Amerkote.—The Rahtores lately arrived in the desert become troublesome.—Important synchronisms.—Death of Chachick.—He is succeeded by his grandson Kurrun, to the prejudice of the elder, Jaetsi, who leaves Jessulmeer.—Redresses the wrongs of a Baraha Rajpoot.—Kurrun dies.—Succeeded by Lakhur Sen.—His imbecile character.—Replaced by his son Poonpal, who is dethroned and banished.—His grandson, Raning-deo, establishes himself at Marote and Poogul.—On the deposal of Poonpal, Jaetsi is recalled and placed on* gadi.*—He affords a refuge to the Purihar prince of Mundore, when attacked by Alla-o-din.—The sons of Jaetsi carry off the imperial tribute of Tatha and Mooltan.—The king determines to invade Jessulmeer.—Jaetsi and his sons prepare for the storm.—Jessulmeer invested.—First assault repulsed.—The Bhattis keep an army in the field.—Rawul Jaetsi dies.—The siege continues.—Singular friendship between his son Ruttun and one of the besieging generals.—Moolraj succeeds.—General assault.—Again defeated.—Garrison reduced to great extremity.—Council of war.—Determination to perform the* saka.*—Generous conduct of the Mahomeda, friend of Ruttun to his sons.—Final assault.—Rawul Moolraj and Ruttun and their chief kin fall in battle.—Jessulmeer taken, dismantled and abandned.*

HAVING thus epitomized the Bhatti annals, from the expulsion of the tribe from the Punjab, and the establishment of

Tunnote in the Indian desert, in A. D. 731, to the foundation of the existing capital, Jessulmeer, in A. D. 1156, we shall continue the sketch to the present day, nearly in the language of the chronicle, adding explanatory notes as we proceed.

The interval between the erection of the castle of Tunnote and the present time is exactly eleven hundred years; during which the historical narrative, whatever may be its value, is at least continuous, and the events recorded are corroborated, even in the darkest period, by numerous synchronisms in the annals of the other states; and viewed synoptically, it presents matter of deep interest to the explorer to Indian history. The period of four hundred and twenty-five years, embraced in the preceding chapter, is full of incidents. It is a record of a people who once deemed their consequence and their fame imperishable. And even were it less diversified by anecdotes descriptive of manners, it would still possess claims to interest as a simple relation of the gradual peopling of a great portion of the Indian desert. We see tribes and cities disappearing; new races and new capitals taking their place; and although not a syllable is written which bears directly upon religion, we can see, incidentally, the analogy of these Indo-Scythic tribes, from Zabulisthan and Salbahana, with the Hindu, confirming what Menu says, that the *Sacas*, *Yavanas*, *Pehlavis*, and the *Khasas* * of Central Asia, were all Chettris or Rajpoots. We now proceed with the chronicle.

Jesul, the founder of Jessulmeer, survived the change of capital only twelve years. His elder son, Kailun, having given displeasure to the Pahoo minister, was expelled, and his younger brother placed upon the *gadi*.

Salbahan a name of celebrity in the annals, renewed in the son of Jesul succeeded in S. 1224 (A. D. 1168). His first expedition was against the Catti or Cathi tribe, who, under their leader, Jugbhan dwelt between the city of Jhalore and the Aravulli.† The Cathi Rao was killed and his horses and camels were carried to Jessulmeer. The fame of this exploit exalted the reputation of Salbahan. He had three sons, Beejir, Banar, and Hasso.

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* There is a race in the desert, now Mahomedan, and called *Khossas*. Elphinstone mentions the *Khasa-Khel*. Khasgar is 'the region of the Khasas' the *Casia Regia* of Ptolemy.

† We can scarcely refuse our assent to the belief, that the Cathi, or Catti tribe, here mentioned, is the remnant of the nation which so manfully opposed Alexander. It was then located about Mooltan, at this period occupied by the Langas. The colony attacked by the Bhatti was near the Aravulli, in all probability a predatory band from the region they peopled and gave their name to Cattiawar, in the Saurashtra peninsula.

In the mountains of Badrinath, there was a state, whose princes were of the Jadoon (Yadu) race, descended from the first Salbahan at the period of the expulsion from Gujni. * At this time, the prince of this state dying without issue, a deputation came to Jessulmeer to obtain a prince to fill the vacant *gadi*. Hasso was accordingly sent, but died just as he arrived. His wife, who was pregnant, was taken with the pains of labour on the journey, and was delivered of a son under the shade of a *palas* tree, whence the child was called *Palaseo*. This infant succeeding, the *raj* (principality) was named after him *Plaseoh*.†

Proposals of marriage came from Maunsi Deora of Sirohi. The Rawul left Jessulmeer to the care of his eldest son Beejil. Soon after his departure, the foster-brother (*dhabhae*) of the young prince propagated the report of the Rawul's death in an encounter with a tiger, and prompted Beejil to assume the dignity. Salbahan, on his return, finding his seat usurped, and having in vain expostulated with his traitorous son, proceeded to Khadal, of which Deorawul is the capital, where he was slain, with three hundred of his followers, in repelling an irruption of the Baloches. Beejil did not long enjoy the dignity: having in a fit of passion struck the *dhabhae*, the blow was returned, upon which, stung with shame and resentment, he stabbed himself with his dagger.

Kailun, the elder brother of Salbahan, who was expelled by the Pahoos was now (A. D. 1200) recalled and installed at the age of fifty. He had six sons, Chachick Deo, Palhan, Jeichand, Petumsi, Petumchand, and Usrao. The second

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* Mr. Elphinstone enumerates the Jadoon as a sub-division of the Eusofzyes, one of the great Afghan tribes, who were originally located about Cabul and Ghizni. I could not resist suggesting the probability of the term Jadoon, applied to a sub-division of the Afghan race, originating from the Hindu-Scythic Jadoon, or Yadu, line the boasted descent of the Afghans from Saul king of the Jews (*Yahudis*). The customs of the Afghans would support this hypothesis. "The Afghans (says the Emperor Baber, page 159), when reduced to extremities in war, come into the presence of their enemy with grass between their teeth, being as much as to say, 'I am your ox.'" This custom is entirely Rajpoot, and ever recurring in inscriptions recording victories. They have their bards or poets in like manner, of whom Mr. Elphinstone gives an interesting account. In features, also, they resemble the Northern Rajpoots who have generally aquiline noses, or, as Mr. Elphinstone expresses it, in the account of his journey through the desert, "Jewish features;" though this might tempt one to adopt the converse of my deduction, and say, that these *Yadus* of Gujni were, with the Afghans, also of *Yahudi* origin: from the lost tribes of Israel.

† See Mr. Elphinstone's map for the position of the Jadoon branch of the Eusofzyes at the foot of the Sewalik hills.

and third had numerous issue, who are styled Jaseir and Seehana Rajpoots.

Khizzur Khan Baloch, with five thousand men, at this time again crossed the Mehran (Indus), and invaded the land of Khadal, which was the second irruption since he slew Salbahan. Kailun marched against him at the head of seven thousand Rajpoots, and, after a severe engagement, slew the Baloch leader and fifteen hundred of his men. Kailun ruled nineteen years.

Chachick Deo succeeded in S. 1275 (A.D. 1219). Soon after his accession, he carried on war against the Chunna Rajpoots (now extinct), of whom he slew two thousand, capturing fourteen thousand cows, and compelling the tribe to take refuge with the Johyas. Soon after, the Rawul invaded the lands of Rana Urmsi, prince of the Sodas, who, though taken by surprise, assembled four thousand horse: but was defeated, and forced to fly for shelter to the walls of his capital, Amerkote. The Puar was glad to obtain the absence of his foe by the offer of his daughter in marriage.*

The Rahtores, recently established in the land of Kher, had become troublesome neighbours; Chachick obtained the aid of the Soda troops to chastise them, and he proceeded to Jessole and Bhalotra, where they were established: but Chadoo and his son Theeco averted his wrath by giving him a daughteer to wife.†

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* In this single passage we have revealed the tribe (*gote*), race (*cula*), capital and proper name, of the prince of *Dhat*. The *Soda* tribe, as before stated, is an important branch of the Pramara (Puar) race, and with the *Oomras* and *Soomras* gave dynasties to the valley of Sinde from the most remote period. The *Soda*, I have already observed, were probably the *Sogdi* of Alexander, occupying Upper Sinde when the Macedonian descended that stream. The *Soomra* dynasty is mentioned by Ferishta from ancient authorities, but the Mahomedan historians knew nothing, and cared nothing about Rajpoot tribes. It is from such documents as these scattered throughout the annals of these principalities, and from the ancient Hindu epic poems, that I have concentrated the "Sketches of the Rajpoot Tribes," introductory to the first volume, which, however slight they appear, cost more research than the rest of the book. I write this note chiefly for the information of the patriarch of oriental lore on the Continent, the learned and ingenuous De Sacy. If this Mentor ask, "Where are now the Sodas?" I reply the ex-prince of Amerkote, with whose ancestors Hemayoon took refuge,—in whose capital in the desert the great Akber was born—and who could on the spur of the moment oppose four thousand horse to invasion, has only one single town, that of Chore, left to him. The Rahtores, who, in the time of Urmsi Rana and Rawul Chachick, were hardly known in *Marudes*, have their flag waving on the batlements of the "immortal castle," (*amurcuta*), and the Ameers of Sinde have incorporated the greater part of Dhat with their state of Hydrabad.

† To those interested in the migration of these tribes, it must be

Rawul Chachick ruled thirty-two years. He had only one son, Tej Rao, who died at the age of forty-two, from the small-pox, leaving two sons, Jaetsi and Kurrun. To the youngest the Rawul was much attached; and having convened the chiefs around his death-bed, he entreated they would accede to his last wish, that his youngest grandson might be his successor.

Kurrun having succeeded, his elder brother, Jaetsi, abandoned his country, and took service with the Mahomedans in Guzerat. About this time, Mozuffer Khan, who occupied Nagore with five thousand horse, committed great outrages. There was a Bhomia of the Baraha tribe, named Bhagaoti-das, who resided fifteen Coss from Nagore, and was master of one thousand five hundred horse. He had an only daughter, who was demanded by the Khan, and being unwilling to comply, and unable to resist, he resolved to abandon the country. For this purpose he prepared carriages, in which he placed his family and chattles, and at night proceeded towards Jessulmeer; but the Khan, gaining intelligence of his motions, intercepted the convoy. A battle ensued, in which four hundred of the Barahas were killed, and his daughter and other females were carried off. The afflicted Baraha continued his route to Jessulmeer, and related his distress to Rawul Kurrun, who immediately put himself at the head of his followers, attacked the Khan, whom he slew, with three thousand of his people, and re-inducted the Bhomia in his possessions. Kurrun ruled twenty-eight years, and was succeeded by his son.

Lakhun Sen, in S. 1327 (A. D. 1271). He was so great a simpleton, that when the jackals howled at night, being told that it was from being cold, he ordered quilted dresses (*duglas*) to be prepared for them. As the howling still continued, although he was assured his orders had been fulfilled, he commanded houses to be built for the animals in the royal preserves (*rumna*), many of which yet remain. Lakhun was the contemporary of Kanirdeo Sonigurra, whose life was saved by his (Lakhun's) wife's knowledge of omens. Lakhun was ruled by this Rani, who was of the Soda tribe. She invited her brethren from Amerkote: but the madman, her husband, put them to death, and threw their bodies over the walls He was allowed to rule four years, and was then replaced by his son,

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gratifying to see these annals thus synchronially corroborating each other. About two centuries before this, in the region of Doosaj, when the Bhatti capital was at Lodorva, an attack was made on the land of Kher, *then* occupied by the Gohilotes, who were, as related in the Annals of Marwar, dispossessed by the Rahtores. One but an inquirer into these annals of the desert tribes can conceive the satisfaction arising from such confirmations

Poonpal. This prince was of a temper so violent that the nobles dethroned him, and recalled the exiled Jaetsi from Guzerat. Poonpal had a residence assigned him in a remote quarter of the state. He had a son, Lakumsi, who had a son called Rao Raningdeo, who by a stratagem pointed out by a Khurl* Rajpoot, took Marote from the Johyas, and Poogul from the Thories, thieves by profession, whose chief, styled Rao, he made captive; and in Poogul he settled his family. Rao Raning had a son called Sadool, who alternately bathed in the sea of pleasure, and struggled in that of action: to their retreat the father and son conveyed the spoils seized from all around them.

Jaetsi obtained the *gadi* in S. 1332 (A. D. 1276). He had two sons, Moolraj and Ruttunsi. Deoraj, the son of Moolraj, espoused the daughter of the Sonigurra chief of Jhalore. Mahomed [Khoom] Padsha invaded the dominions of Rana Roopsi, the Purihar prince of Mundore,† who, when defeated, fled with his twelve daughters, and found refuge with the Rawul, who gave him Baroo as a residence.

Deoraj, by his Sonigurra wife, had three sons, Janghan, Sirwun, and Hamir. This Hamir was a mighty warrior, who attacked Kompoh Sen of Mehwo, and plundered his lands. He had issue three sons, Jaito, Loonkurn and Mairoo. At this period, Ghori Alla-o-din commenced the war against the castles of India. The tribute of Tatha and Mooltan, consisting of fifteen hundred horses and fifteen hundred mules laden with treasure and valuables, was at Bekher in progress to the king at Delhi. The sons of Jaetsi determined to lay an ambush and capture the tribute. Disguised as grain-merchants, with seven thousand horse and twelve hundred camels, they set out on their expedition, and on the banks of the Punjnud found the convoy, escorted by four hundred Mogul and the like number of Pathan horse. The Bhattis encamped near the convoy; and in the night they rose upon and slew the escort, carrying the treasure to Jessulneer. The survivors carried the news to the king, who prepared to punish this insult. When tidings reached Rawul Jaetsi that the king was encamped on the *Anasagur* at Ajmer, he prepared Jessulmeer for defence. He laid in immense sores of grain, and deposited all round the ramparts of the fot large round stones to hurl on the besiegers. All the aged, the ifirm, and his female grand-children, were removed into the nterior of the desert, while the country

* This tribe is unknown to Central India.

† The title, tribe, nd capital of this race, shew that the Bhattis were intimately connecte with the neighbouring states.

around the capital for many miles was laid waste, and the towns made desolate. The Rawul, with his two elder sons and five thousand warriors, remained inside for the defence of the castle, while Deoraj and Hamir formed an army to act against the enemy from without. The Sooltan in person remained at Ajmeer, and sent forward an immense force of Khorasanis and Koreishes, cased in steel armour, "who rolled on like the clouds in Bhadoon." The fifty-six bastions were manned, and three thousand seven hundred heroes distributed amongst them for their defence, while two thousand remained in reserve to succour the points attacked. During the first week that the besiegers formed their entrenchments, seven thousand Moosulmans were slain, and Meer Mohabet and Alli Khan remained on the field of battle. For two years the invaders were confined to their camp by Deoraj and Hamir, who kept the field, after cutting off their supplies, which came from Mundore, while the garrison was abundantly furnished from Khadal, Barmair, and Dhat. Eight years* had the siege lasted, when Rawul Jaetsi died, and his body was burnt inside the fort.

During this lengthened siege, Ruttunsi had formed a friendship with the Nawab Maboob Khan and they had daily friendly meetings under a *khaijra* tree, between the advanced posts, each attended by a few followers. They played at chess together, and interchanged expressions of mutual esteem. But when duty called them to oppose each other in arms, the whole world was enamoured with their heroic courtesy. Jaetsi had ruled eighteen years when he died.

Moolraj III., in S. 1350 (A. D. 1294), ascended the *gadi* surrounded by foes. On this occasion, the customary rejoicings on installation took place, at the moment when the two friends, Ruttunsi and Maboob Khan, had met, as usual, under the *khaijra* tree. The cause of rejoicing being explained to the Nawab, he observed that the Sooltan had heard of, and was offended with, these meetings, to which he attributed the protracted defence of the castle, and acquainted Ruttunsi that next day a general assault was commanded, which he should lead in person. The attack took place; it was fierce, but the defence was obstinate, and the assailants were beaten back with the loss of nine thousand men. But the foe obtained reinforcements, and towards the conclusion of the year, the garrison was reduced to the greatest privations, and the blockade being perfect, Moolraj assembled his kinsmen and thus addressed

* This can mean nothing more than that desultory attacks were carried on against the Bhatti capital. It is certain that Alla never carried his arms in person against Jessulmeer.

them: "For so many years we have defended our dwellings; but our supplies are expended, and there is no passage for more. What is to be done?" The chiefs, Sehir and Bikumsi, replied, "a *saka* must take place; we must sacrifice ourselves:" but that same day the royal army, unaware of the distress of the besieged, retreated.

The friend of Kuttunsi had a younger brother, who, on the retreat of the royal forces, was carried inside the fort, when, seeing the real state of things, he escaped and conveyed intelligence of it, upon which the siege was renewed. Moolraj reproached his brother as the cause of this evil, and asked what was fit to be done? to which Ruttunsi replied, "there is but one path open; to immolate the females, to destroy by fire and water whatever is destructible, and to bury what is not; then open wide the gates, and sword in hand rush upon the foe, and thus attain *Surga*." The chiefs were assembled: all were unanimous to make *Jesa-nuggur* resplendent by their deeds, and preserve the honour of the Jadoo race. Moolraj thus replied: "you are of a warlike race, and strong are your arms in the cause of your prince; what heroes excel you, who thus tread in the Chetrie's path? In battle, not even the elephant could stand before you. For the maintenance of my honour the sword is in your hands; let Jessulmeer be illumined by its blows upon the foe." Having thus inspired the chiefs and men, Moolraj and Ruttun repaired to the palace of their queens. They told them to take the *sohog*,* and prepare to meet in heaven, while they gave up their lives in defence of their honour and their faith. Smiling, the Soda Rani, replied, "this night we shall prepare, and by the morning's light we shall be inhabitants of *surga*" (heaven); and thus it was with the chiefs and all their wives. The night was passed together for the last time in preparation for the awful morn. It came; ablutions and prayers were finished, and at the *Rajdwara*† were convened *bala*, *prude*, and *bridu*.‡ They bade a last farewell to all their kin; the *johur* commenced, and twenty-four thousand females, from infancy to old age, surrendered their lives, some by the sword, others in the volcano of fire. Blood flowed in torrents, while the smoke of the pyre ascended to the heavens: not one feared to die, every valuable was consumed with them, not the worth of straw was preserved for the foe. This work

* *Sohagun*, or who becomes *sati* previous to her lord's death. *Dohagun*, who follows him after death.

† Literally, 'the royal gate'; an allusion to the female apartments, or *Raj-loca*.

‡ *Bala* is under sixteen; *prude*, middle-aged; *bridu*, when forty.

done, the brothers looked upon the spectacle with horror. Life was now a burthen, and they prepared to quit it. They purified themselves with water, paid adoration to the divinity, made gifts to the poor, placed a branch of the *toolsi** in their casques, the *saligram** round their neck; and having cased themselves in armour and put on the saffron robe, they bound the *mor*† (crown) around their heads, and embraced each other for the last time. Thus they awaited the hour of battle. Three thousand eight hundred warriors, with faces red with wrath, prepared to die with their chiefs.

Ruttunsi had two sons, named Garsi and Kanur, the eldest only twelve years of age. He wished to save them from the impending havoc, and applied to his courteous foeman. The Mooslem chief swore he would protect them, and sent two confidential servants to receive the trust; to whom, bidding them a last farewell, their father consigned them. When they reached the royal camp, they were kindly welcomed by the Nawab, who, putting his hand upon their heads, soothed them, and appointed two Brahmins to guard, feed and instruct them.

On the morrow, the army of the Sooltan advanced to the assault. The gates were thrown wide, and the fight began. Ruttun was lost on the sea of battle; but one hundred and twenty Meers fell before his sword ere he lay in the field. Moolraj plied his lance on the bodies of the barbarians: the field swam in blood. The unclean spirits were gorged with slaughter; but at length the Jidoon chief fell, with seven hundred of the choice of his kin. With his death the battle closed; the victors ascended the castle, and Maboob Khan caused the bodies of the brothers to be carried from the field and burned. The *saka* took place in S. 1351, or A. D. 1295. Deoraj, who commanded the force in the field, was carried off by a fever. The royal garrison kept possession of the castle during two years, and at length blocked up the gateways, and dismantled and abandoned the place, which remained long deserted, for the Bhattis had neither means to repair the *kangras* (battlements), nor men to defend them.

* The funeral qualities of the *toolsi* plant, and the emblematic *saligram*, or stone found in the Gunduc river, have been often described.

† On two occasions the Rajpoot chieftain wears the *mor*, or 'coronet;' on his marriage, and when going to die in battle, symbolic of his nuptials with the *Apsara*, or 'fair of heaven.'

CHAPTER IV.

The Rahtores of Mehwo settle amidst the ruins of Jessulmeer.—Driven out by the Bhatti chieftain Doodoo, who is elected Rawul.—He carries off the stud of Feeroz Shah.—Second storm and Saka *of Jessulmeer.—Doodoo slain.—Moghul invasion of India.—The Bhatti princes obtain their liberty.—Rawul Gursi re-establishes Jessulmeer.—Kehur, son of Deoraj.—Disclosure of his destiny by a prodigy.—Is adopted by the wife of Rawul Gursi, who is assassinated by the tribe of Jesur.—Kehur proclaimed.—Bheem's Lady becomes* Sati.*—The succession entailed on the sons of Hamir.—Matrimonial overture to Jaita from Mewar.—Engagement broken off.—The brothers slain.—Penitential act of Rao Raning.—Offspring of Kehur.—Soma, the elder, departs with his* bussie *and settles at Giraup.—Sons of Rao Raning become Mooslems to avenge their father's death.—Consequent forfeiture of their inheritance.—They mix with the Abhoria Bhattis.—Kailun, the third son of Kehur, settles in the forfeited lands.—Drives the Dahyas from Khadal.—Kailun erects the fortress of Kerroh on the Behah or Gara.—Assailed by the Johyas and Langas under Ameer Khan Korai, who is defeated.—Subdues the Chahils and Mohils.—Extends his authority to the Punjnud.—Rao Kailun marries into the Samma family.—Account of the Samma race.—He seizes on the Samma dominions.—Makes the river Indus his boundary.—Kailun dies.—Succeeded by Chachik.—Makes Marote his head-quarters.—League headed by the chief of Mooltan against Chachik, who invades that territory, and returns with a rich booty to Marote.—A second victory.—Leaves a garrison in the Punjab.—Defeats Maipal, chief of the Doondis.—Asini or Aswini Kote.—Its supposed position.—Anecdote.—Feud with Satilmer.—Its consequences.—Alliance with Hybut Khan.—Rao Chachik invades Peeleebunga.—The Khokurs or Ghikers described.—The Langas drive his garrison from Dhooniapur.—Rao Chachik falls sick.—Challenges the prince of Mooltan.—Reaches Dhooniapur.—Rites preparatory to the combat.—Worship of the sword.—Chachik is slain with all his bands.—Koombho, hitherto insane, avenges his father's feud.—Birsil re-establishes Dhooniapur.—Repairs to Kerore,—Assailed by the Langas and*

Baloches.—Defeats them.—Chronicle of Jessulmeer resumed.—Rawul Bersi meets Rao Birsil on his return from his expedition in the Punjab.—Conquest of Mooltan by Baber.—Probable conversion of the Bhattis of the Punjab.—Rawul Bersi, Jait, Noonkurn, Bheem, Munohur-das, and Subbul Sing, six generations.

SOME years subsequent to this disastrous event in the Bhatti annals, Jugmal, son of Maloji Rahtore, chief of Mehwo, attempted a settlement amidst the ruins of Jessulmeer, and brought thither a large force, with seven hundred ca[illegible] of provisions. On hearing this, the Bhatti chiefs, [illegible] and Tiluksi, the sons of Jesir, assembled their kinsm[illegible] the Rahtores, drove them from the castle, an[illegible] supplies. Doodo, for this exploit, was elected R[illegible] menced the repairs of Jessulmeer. He had fiv[illegible] his brother, was renowned for his exploits. [illegible] Baloch, the Manguleo, the Mehwo, and th[illegible] gurras of Aboo and Jhalore felt his power. He [illegible] his raids to Ajmeer, and carried off the s[illegible] the Anasagur (lake), where they were [illegible] ed. This indignity provoked another attack upon Jessulm[illegible] attended with the same disastrous result. Again the *saka* was performed, in which sixteen thousand females * were destroyed; and Doodo, with Tiluksi and seventeen hundred of the clan, fell in battle, after he had occupied the *gadi* ten years.

On the death of Rawul Doodo, in S. 1362 (A. D. 1306), the young princes, Gursi and Kanur, by the death of their patron Maboob, were left to the protection of his sons, Zoolficar and Gazi Khan. Kanur went privately to Jessulmeer, and Gursi obtained leave to proceed westward to the Mehwo tract, where he married Bimaladevi, a widow, sister to the Rahtore, who had been betrothed † to the Deora. While engaged in these nuptials, he was visited by his relation Soningdeo, a man of gigantic strength, who agreed to accompany him on his return to Delhi. The king made trial of his force, by giving him to string an iron bow sent by the king of Khorasan, which the nervous Bhatti not only bent but broke. The invasion of Delhi by Timoor Shah ‡ having

* The Rajpoots, by their exterminating *sakas*, facilitated the views of the Mahomedans. In every state we read of these horrors.

† The mere act of being betrothed disqualifies from a second marriage; the affianced becomes a *raud* (widow), though a *komari* (maid).

‡ Even these anachronisms are proofs of the fidelity of these Annals. Ignorant native scribes, aware but of one great Moghul invasion, consi-

occurred at this time, the services of Gursi were so conspicuous that he obtained a grant of his hereditary dominions, with permission to re-establish Jessulmeer. With his own kindred, and the aid of the vassals of his friend Jugmal of Mehwo, he soon restored order, and had an efficient force at command. Hamir and his clansmen gave their allegiance to Gursi, but the sons of Jesir were headstrong.

Deoraj, who married the daughter of Roopra, Rana of Mundore, had a son named Kehur, who, when Jessulmeer was about to be invested by the troops of the Sooltan, was conveyed to Mundore with his mother. When only twelve years of age, he used to accompany the cowherds of the old Rao's kine, and a favourite amusement was penning up the calves with *thak*, to imitate the picketting of horses. One day, during occupation, young Kehur fell asleep upon the [illegible]ent, and the reptile issuing therefrom, arose and [illegible] over him as he slept. A *Charun* (bard, or [illegible]ng that way, reported the fact and its import [illegible]e Rana, who, proceeding to the spot, found [illegible]own grandson whom fate had thus pointed out for [illegible]nty. Gursi, having no offspring by Bimaladevi, proposed to her to adopt a son. All the Bhatti youth were assembled, but none equalled Kehur, who was chosen. But the sons of Jesir were displeased, and conspired to obtain the *gadi*. At this time Rawul Gursi was in the daily habit of visiting a tank, which he was excavating, and they seized an occasion to assassinate him; whereupon, in order to defeat their design, Bimaladevi immediately had Kehur proclaimed. The widowed queen of Gursi, with the view of securing the completion of an object which her lord had much at heart, namely finishing the lake *Gursi-sirr*, as well as to ensure protection to her adopted son Kehur, determined to protract the period of self-immolation; but when six months had elapsed, and both these objects were attained, she finished her days on the pyre. Bimaladevi named the children of Hamir as the adopted sons and successors of Kehur. These sons were Jaita and Loonkurn.

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der the invader to be Timoor; but there were numerous Moghul invasions during the reign of Alla-oo-din. In all probability that for which the services of the Bhatti prince obtained him the restoration of his dominions, was that of Eibak Lhan, general of the King of Transoxiana, who invaded India in A. H. 705 (A. D. 1305), and was so signally defeated, that only three thousand out of fifty-seven thousand horse escaped the sword, and these were made prisoners and trod to death by elephants, when pillars of skulls were erected to commemorate the victory.—See Briggs' Ferishta, vol. i., p. 364.

The coco-nut was sent by Koombho, Rana of Cheetore, to Jaita. The Bhatti prince marched for Mewar, and when with twelve Coss of the Aravulli hills, was joined by the famous Sankala Meeraj, chief of Salbanny. Next morning, when about to resume the march, a partridge began to call from the right: a bad omen, which was interpreted by the brother-in-law of the Sankala, deeply versed in the science of the *Sookuni* and the language of birds.* Jaita drew the rein of his horse, and to avert the evil, halted that day. Meanwhile, the partridge was caught and found to be blind of an eye, and its ovary quite filled. The next morning, as soon as they had taken horse, a tigress began to roar, and the *Sookuni* chieftain was called upon again to expound the omen. He replied that the secrets of great houses should not be divulged, but he desired them to despatch a youth, disguised as a female *Nae* (barbar class), to Komulmeer, who there would learn the cause. The youth gained admission to 'the ruby of Mewar,' (*Lala-Mewari*), who was anointing for the nuptials. He saw things were not right, and returning made his report; upon hearing which, the Bhatti prince married Marrud, the daughter of the Sankala chief. The Rana was indignant at this insult, but a sense of shame prevented his resenting it; and instead of proclaiming the slight, he offered his daughter's hand to the famous Kheechee prince, Achildas of Gagrown, and it was accepted. † Jaita met his death, together with his brother Loonkurn, and his brother-in-law, in an attempt to surprise Poogul: he fell with a hundred and twenty followers. When the old Rao, Raningdeo, discovered against whom he had thus successfully defended himself, he clad himself in black garments, and in atonement performed pilgrimage to all the shrines in India. ‡ On his return, he was forgiven and condoled with by Kehur.

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* It is scarcely necessary to repeat that this is a free translation of the chronicle.

† The Kheechee prince, we may suppose, had no follower skilled in omens—they lived very happily, as appears by the Kheechee chronicle, and she bore him a son, who was driven from Gagrown. The scandal propagated against the 'ruby of Mewar' was no doubt a *ruse* of the Sankla chief, as the conclusion shews. However small the intrinsic worth of these anecdotes, they afford links of synchronisms, which constitute the value of the annals of all these states.

‡ Sadoo was the son and heir of Raningdeo, and it was from this portion of the Bhatti annals I extracted that singular story, related in Vol. I., to illustrate the influence which the females of Rajpootana have on national manners. The date of this tragical event was S. 1462, according to the Bhatti annals; and Rana Mokul, the contemporary of Rawul Jait and Rao Raningdeo, was on the throne of Mewar

Kehur had eight sons. 1st. Somaji, who had a numerous offspring, called the Soma-Bhattis; 2nd. Lukmun; 3rd. Kailun, who forcibly seized Beekumpur, the appanage of his elder brother Soma, who departed with all his *bussie*, * and settled at Giraup; 4th. Kilkurn; 5th. Satul, who gave his name to an ancient town, and called it Satulmeer. The names of the rest were Beejo, Tunno, and Tejsi.

When the sons of Raningdeo became converts to Islam, in order to avenge their father's feud with the Rahtore prince of Nagore, they forfeited their inheritance of Poogul and Marote, and thenceforward mixed with the Abhoria Bhattis, and their descendants are termed Momun Bhutti. On this event, Kailun, the third son of the Rawul, took possession of the forfeited lands, and besides Beekumpur, regained Deorawul, which had been conquered by their ancient foes, the Dahya Rajpoots.

Kailun built a fort on the Beyah, called, after his father, Kerroh, or Kerore, which again brought the Bhattis into collision with the Johyas and Langas, whose chief, Amur Khan Korai, attacked him, but was defeated. Kailun became the terror of the Chahils,† the Mohils,† and Joyhas,† who lived in this quarter, and his authority extended as far as the Punjnud. Kailun married into the Samma family of Jam,‡

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from S. 1454 to S. 1475. The annals of this state notice the marriage of the '*Ruby*' to Dheruj, son of Achidas, but say nothing on the other point. A vague recollection of some matrimonial insult being offered, evidently yet prevails, for when a marriage was contracted in A. D. 1821, through the author's intervention, between the Rana of Oodipur's daughter and the present Rawul Guj Sing of Jessulmeer, it was given out that there was no memorial of any marriage-alliance between the two houses. After all it may be a vain-glorious invention of the Bhatti annalist.

* This term *bussie* has been explained in vol. i.. The *bussie* is a slave in the mildest sense; one who in distress sells his liberty. His master cuts the *choti*, or lock of hair, from the centre of the head, as a mark of bondage. They are transferable, like cattle. This custom prevails more in the desert states than in central Rajwarra; there every great man has his *bussie*. Shiam Sing Champawut of Pokurn had two hundred when he fled to Jeypur, and they all fell with him fighting against the Mahrattas. All castes, Brahmins and Rajpoots, become *bussies*: they can redeem their liberty by purchase.

† These three tribes are either extinct, or were lost on becoming proselytes to Islamism.

‡ The Samma or Summa tribe, which is well known in Mahomedan history, as having given a dynasty to Sinde in modern times, is a great branch of the Yadus, and descended from *Samba*, son of Crishna; and while the other branch colonized Zabulisthan, maintaining the original name of Yadus, the sons of Samba made his name the patronymic in Seistan and the lower valley of the Indus. Samma-ka-kote, or Sammanagar,

and arbitrated their disputes on succession, which had caused much bloodshed. Shujahit Jam, whom he supported, accompanied him to Marote, on whose death, two years after, Kailun possessed himself of all the Samma territory, when the Sinde river became the boundary of his dominion. Kailun died at the age of seventy-two, and was succeeded by* Chachik-deo, who made Marote his head-quarters, to cover his territories from the attacks of Mooltan, which took umbrage at the return of the Bhattis across the Garah. The chief of Mooltan united in a league all the ancient foes of the Bhattis, the Langas, the Johyas, the Kheeches, and all the tribes of that region. Chachik formed an army of seventeen thousand horse and fourteen thousand foot, and crossed the Beyah to meet his foes. The encounter was desperate; but the Bhattis were victorious, and returned with rich spoil to Marote. In the year following another battle took place, in which seven hundred and forty Bhattis were slain, and three thousand of the men of Mooltan. By this success, the conquests of Chachik were extended, and he left a garrison (*thanna*) under his son in Asini-kote, beyond the Behah, and returned to Poogul. He then attacked Maipal, chief of the Doondis, whom he defeated. After this victory he repaired to Jessulmeer, to visit his brother Lukmun, reserving the produce of the lands dependent on Asini-kote †

was the capital, which yet exists, and doubtless originated the Minagara of the Greeks. Sambus, the opponent of Alexander, it is fair to infer, was the chief of the Samma tribe. Samba, meaning 'of, or belonging to *Sham* or Sam' (an epithet of Crishna, from his dark complexion), was son of Jambuvati, one of the eight wives of this deified Yadu. The Jharejas of Cutch and Jams of Sinde and Saurashtra are of the same stock. The Sind-Samma dynasty, on the loss of their faith and coming into contact with Islam, to which they became proselytes, were eager to adopt a pedigree which might give them importance in the eyes of their conquerors; *Sam* was transformed into *Jam*, and the Persian king, Jamshid, was adopted as the patriarch of the Sammas, in lieu of the legitimate Samba. Ferishta gives an account of this dynasty but was ignorant of their origin. He says, "The Zemindars of Sinde were originally of two tribes or families, Somuna and Soomura; and the chief of the former was distinguished by the appellation of Jam."—Briggs' Ferishta, vol. iv., p. 422. The historian admits they were Hindus until A. H. 782 (A. D. 1380, S. 1436); a point of little doubt, as we see the Bhatti prince intermarrying with this family about twenty years subsequent even to the date assigned by Ferishta for their proselytism.

I may here again state, once for all, that I append these notes in order not to interfere with the text, which is abridged from the original chronicle.

* It is said that Rinmul succeeded; but this was only to the northern portion, his appanage; he lived but two months.

† Position unknown, unless it be the *Tehin-kot* of D'aville, at the confluence of the river Cabul with the Indus. There is no doubt that

for his expenses at court. On his return home by Baroo, he was accosted by a Jinj Rajpoot,* pasturing an immense flock of goats, who presented the best of his flock, and demanded protection against the raids of Birjung Rahtore. This chief had wrested the celebrated fortress of Satulmeer,† the abode of wealthy merchants, from a Bhatti chief, and extended his forays far into the desert, and the Jinj was one of those who had suffered by his success. Not long after Rao Chachik had passed by the pastures of the Jinj, he received a visit from him, to complain of another inroad, which had carried off the identical goat, his offering. Chachik assembled his kinsmen, and formed an alliance with Shomar Khan, chief of the Seta tribe,‡ who came with three thousand horse. It was the custom of the Rahtores of Satulmeer to encamp their horse at a *tank* some distance from the city, to watch, while the chief citizens used daily to go abroad. Chachik surprised and made prisoners of the whole. The bankers and men of wealth offered large sums for their ransom; but he would not release them from bondage, except on condition of their settling in the territory of Jessulmeer. Three hundred and sixty-five heads of families embraced this alternative, and hence Jessulmeer dates the influx of her wealth. They were distributed over the principal cities, Deorawul, Poogul, Marote, &c.§ The three sons of the Rahtore were also made prisoners; the two youngest were released, but Mairah, the eldest, was detained as a hostage for his father's good conduct. Chachik dismissed his ally, the Seta chief, whose granddaughter, Sonaldevi, he married. The father of the bride Hybat Khan,‖ gave with her, in *daeja* (dower), fifty horses, thirty-five slaves, four palkis, and two hundred female camels, and with her Chachik returned to Marote.

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this castle of the Bhatti prince was in the Punjab; and coupled with his alliance with the chief of Sehat or Swat, that it is the Tehin-kot, or Ashnagur of that celebrated geographer, whence the Acesines of the Greeks.

* I may here repeat that the Jinj and Johya were no doubt branches of the same race, the Jenjuheh of Baber, who locates them about the mountains of Joude.

† Now belonging to Marwar, and on its north-western frontier; but I believe in ruins.

‡ Most likely the Swatees, or people of Swat, described by Mr. Elphinstone (vol. i., p. 506), as of Indian origin, and as possessing a kingdom from the Hydaspes to Jellalabad, the *Suastene* of Ptolemy.

§ It must not be forgotten that Satulmeer was one of the Bhatti castles wrested from them by the Rahtores, who have greatly curtailed their frontiers.

‖ From this and many other instances we come to the conclusion that the Tatar or Indo-Scythic title of Khan is by no means indicative of the

Two years after this, Chachik made war on Thir-raj Khokur, the chief of Peeleebunga,* on account of a horse stolen from a Bhatti. The Khokurs were defeated and plundered; but his old enemies the Langas, taking advantage of this occasion, made head against Chachik, and drove his garrison from the new possession of Dhooniapur.† Disease at length seized on Rawul Chachik, after a long course of victorious warfare, in which he subdued various tracts of country, even to the heart of the Punjab. In this state he determined to die as he has lived, with arms in his hands; but having no foe near, with whom to cope, he sent an embassy to the Langa prince of Mooltan, to beg, as a last favour, the *jood-dan*, or 'gift of battle,' that his soul might escape by the steel of his foeman, and not fall a sacrifice to slow disease.‡ The prince, suspecting treachery, hesitated; but the Bhatti messenger pledged his word that his master only wished an honourable death, and that he would only bring five hundred men to the combat. The challenge being accepted, the Rawul called his clansmen around him, and on recounting what he had done, seven hundred select Rajpoots, who had shared in all his victories, volunteered to take the last field, and make *sunkluf* (oblation) of their lives with their leader. Previous to setting forth, he arranged his affairs. His son Guj Sing, by the Seta Rani, he sent with her to her father's house. He had five other sons, *viz.*, Koombho, Birsil, Bheemdeo, (by Lala Rani, of the Soda tribe), Rutto and Rindheer, whose mother was Soorajdevi, of Chohan race. Birsil, his eldest son, he made heir to all his dominions, except the land of Khadal (whose chief town is Deorawul), which he bestowed upon Rindheer, and to both he gave the *tika*, making them separate

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Mahomedan faith. Here we see the daughter of the prince of *Swat*, or Suvat, with a genuine Hindi name.

* The position of *Peeleebunga* is unknown; in all probability it has undergone a metamorphosis with the spread of 'the faith', over those regions. As before mentioned, I believe this race, called *Khokur*, to be the Ghiker, so well known to Baber, and described as his inveterate foes in all his irruptions into India. Their manners, especially that distinctive mark, polyandrism, mentioned by Ferishta, mark the Ghikers as Indo-Scythic. The names of their chiefs are decidedly Hindu. They were located with the Joudis in the upper part of the Punjab, and according to Elphinstone, they retain their old position, contiguous to the Eusofzye *Jadoons*.

† Dhooniapur is not located.

‡ In this chivalrous challenge, or demand of the *jood-dan*, we recognize another strong trait of Scythic manners, as depicted by Herodotus. The ancient Gete of Transoxiana could not bear the idea of dying of disease; a feeling which their offspring carried with them to the shores of the Baltic, to Yeut-land or Jutland!

states. Birsil marched to Kerore,* his capital, at the head of seventeen thousand men.

Meanwhile, Rawul Chachik marched to Dhooniapur, 'to part with life.' There he heard that the prince of Mooltan was within two Coss. His soul rejoiced; he performed his ablutions, worshipped the sword† and the gods, bestowed charity, and withdrew his thoughts from this world.

The battle lasted four *ghurris* (two hours), and the Jadoon prince fell with all his kin after performing prodigies of valour. Two thousand Khans fell beneath their swords: rivers of blood flowed in the field; but the Bhatti gained the abode of Indra, who shared his throne with the hero. The king crossed the Behah, and returned to Mooltan.

While Rindheer was performing at Deorawul the rites of the twelve days of *matum*, or 'mourning,' his elder brother, Koombho, afflicted with insanity, rushed into the assembly, and swore to avenge his father's death. That day he departed, accompanied by a single slave, and reached the prince's camp. It was surrounded by a ditch eleven yards wide, over which the Bhatti leaped his horse in the dead of night, reached the harem, and cut off the head of Kaloo Shah, with which he rejoined his brethren at Deorawul. Birsil re-established Bhooniapur, and then went to Kerore. His old foes, the Langas, under Hybat Khan, again attacked him, but they were defeated with great slaughter. At the same time, Husein Khan Baloch invaded Beekumpur.‡

Rawul Bersi, who at this time occupied the *gadi* of Jessulmeer, went forth to meet Rao Birsil on his return from his expedition in the Punjab. In S. 1530 (A. D. 1474), he made the gates and palace of Beekumpur.

We may, in this place, desert the literal narrative of the chronicle; what follows is a record of similar border-feuds and petty wars, between 'the sons of Kailun,'§ and the chiefs of

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* This fortress, erected by Rao Kailun, is stated to be twenty-two Coss, about forty miles, from Bahwulpur; but though the direction is not stated, there is little doubt of its being to the northward, most probably in that *do-abeh* called *Sind-Sagur*.

† Couple this martial rite with the demand of *jood-dan*, and there is an additional reason for calling these Yadus Indo-Scythic; see vol. i., for an account of the worship of the sword, or *Kharg-thapna*.

‡ The foregoing (from page 1096), including the action of Kailun, Chachik, and Birsil, must be considered as an episode, detailing the exploits of the Raos of Poogul, established by Kailun, third son of Rawul Kehur of Jessulmeer. It was too essential to the annals to be placed in a note.

§ Rao Kailun had established his authority over nine castles, heads of districts, *viz.*, Asini, or Aswini-kote, Beekumpur, Marote, Poogul, Deorawul,

the Punjab, alternately invaders and invaded, which is pregnant with mighty words and gallant deeds, but yielding no new facts of historical value. At length, the numerous offspring of Kailun separated, and divided amongst them the lands on both sides of the Garah ; and as Sultan Baber, soon after this period made a final conqest of Mooltan from the Langas, and placed therein his own governor, in all probability the Bhatti possessors of Kerore-kot and Dhoniapur, as well as Poogul and Marote, (now Mahomedans), exchanged their faith (sanctioned even by Menu) for the preservation of their estates.* The bard is so much occupied with this Poogul branch that the chronicle appears almost devoted solely to them.

He passes from the main stem, to Rawuls Jait, Noonkurn, Bheem, Munohur-das, to Subbul Sing, five generations, with little further notice than the mere enumeration of their issue. With this last prince, Subbul Sing, an important change occurred in the political condition of the Bhattis.

Kehrore (twenty-two Coss, or about forty miles, from Bahwulpur), Goomun, Bahun, Nadno, and Matailoh, on the Indus.

* There never was anything so degrading to royalty as the selfish protection guaranteed to it by this Lycurgus of the Hindus, who says. "Against misfortune, let him preserve his wealth ; at the expense of his wealth, let him preserve his wife ; but let him at all events preserve himself, even at the hazard of his wife and riches."—*Menu on Government, or on the Military Class.* The entire history of the Rajpoots shews they do not pay much attention to such unmanly maxims.

The quotation from Menu which the author gives here, is not rightly interpreted ; nor has it been selected from its proper context. This must have been only an exploitation of some passage in Menu designed as a direction for some other occupation of life ; for, the highest sacrifices are enjoined for the defence of the country wherever occasion requires.—*Ed.*

CHAPTER V.

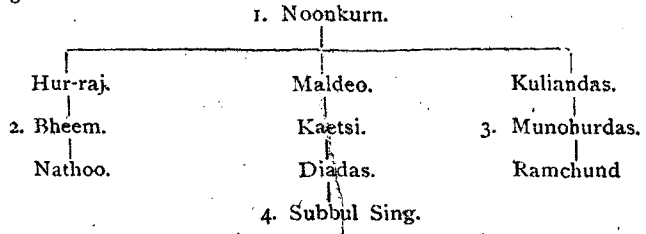
Jessulmeer becomes a fief of the empire.—Changes in the succession.—Subbul Sing serves with the Bhatti contingent.—His services obtain him the gad *of Jessulmeer.—Boundaries of Jessulmeer at the period of Baber's invasion.—Subbul succeeded by his son, Umra Sing, who leads the* tika-dour *into the Baloch territory. Crowned on the field of victory.—Demands a relief from his subjects to portion his daughter.—Puts a chief to death who refuses.—Revolt of the Chunna Rajpoots.—The Bhatti chiefs retaliate the inroads of the Rahtores of Bikaneer.—Origin of frontier-feuds.—Bhattis gain a victory.—The princes of Jessulmeer and Bikaneer are involved in the feuds of their vassals.—Raja Anop Sing calls on his chiefs to revenge the disgrace.—Invasion of Jessulmeer.—The invaders defeated.—The Rawul recovers Poogul.—Makes Barmair tributary.—Umra dies.—Succeeded by Jeswunt.—The chronicle closes.—Decline of Jessulmeer—Poogul.—Barmair.—Filodi wrested from her by the Rahtores.—Importance of these transactions to the British Government.—Khadal to the Gara seized by the Daodpotras.—Akhi Sing succeeds.—His uncle, Tej Sing, usurps the government.—The usurper assassinated during the ceremony of* Las.—*Akhi Sing recovers the* gadi.—*Reigns forty years.—Bahwul Khan seizes on Khadal.—Rawul Moolraj—Suroop Sing Mehta made minister.—His hatred of the Bhatti nobles.—Conspiracy against him by the heir-apparent, Rae Sing.—Deposal and confinement of the Rawul.—The prince proclaimed.—Refuses to occupy the* gadi.—*Moolraj emancipated by a Rajpootni.—Resumption of the* gadi.—*The prince Rae Sing receives the* black khelat *of banishment.—Retires to Jodhpur.—Outlawry of the Bhatti nobles.—Their lands sequestrated, and castles destroyed.—After twelve years, restored to their lands.—Rae Sing decapitates a merchant,—Returns to Jessulmeer.—Sent to the fortress of Dewoh.—Salim Sing becomes minister.—His character.—Falls into the hands of his enemies, but is saved by the magnanimity of Zoorawur Sing.—Plans his destruction, through his own brother's wife.—Zoorawur is poisoned.—The Mehta then assassinates her and her husband.—Fires the castle of Dewoh.—Rae Sing burnt to death.—Murder of his sons.—The minister proclaims Guj Sing.—Younger sons of Moolraj fly to Bikaneer.—The longest reigns*

in the Rajpoot annals are during ministerial usurpation.—Retrospective view of the Bhatti history.—Reflections.

WE have now reached that period in the Bhatti annals, when Shah Jehan was emperor of India. Elsewhere, we have minutely related the measure which the great Akber adopted to attach his Rajpoot vassalage to the empire; a policy pursued by his successors. Subbul Sing, the first of the princes of Jessulmeer, who held his dominions as a fief of the empire, was not the legitimate heir to the '*gadi* of Jessul.'* Munohur-das had obtained the *gadi* by the assassination of his nephew, Rawul Nathoo, the son and heir of Bheem, who was returning from his nuptials at Bikaneer, and had passed the day at Filodi, then a town of Jessulmeer, when poison was administered to him by the hands of a female. But it was destined that the line of the assassin should not rule, and the dignity fell to Subbul Sing, the third in descent from Maldeo, second son of Rawul Noonkurn.

The good qualities of young Subbul, and the bad ones of Ramchund, son of the usurper, afforded another ground for the preference of the former. Moreover, Subbul was nephew to the prince of Amber, under whom he held a distinguished post in the government of Peshore, where he saved the royal treasure from being captured by the Afghan mountaineers. For this service, and being a favourite of the chiefs who served with their contingents, the king gave Jeswunt Sing of Jodhpur command to place him on the *gadi*. The celebrated Nahur Khan Koompawut† was entrusted with this duty, for the performance

* Noonkurn had three sons, Hur-raj, Maldeo, and Kaliandas; each had issue. Hur-raj had Bheem (who succeeded his grandfather Noonkurn). Maldeo had Kaetsi, who had Dialdas, father of Subbul Sing, to whom was given in appanage the town of Mundilla, near Pukurn. The third son, Kaliandas, had Munohur-das, who succeeded Bheem. Ramchund was the son of Munohur-das. A slip from the genealogical tree will set this in clear light.



† Another synchronism (see Annals of Marwar for an account of Nahur Khan) of some value, since it accounts for the first abstraction of territory by the Rahtores from the Bhattis.

of which he received the city and domain of Pokurn, ever since severed from Jessulmeer.

This was the first considerable abstraction from the territories which had been progressively increased by Rawul Jessul and his successors, but which have since been woefully curtailed. A short time before Baber's invasion, the dependencies of Jessulmeer extended on the north to the Garah river,* west to the Mehran or Indus; and on the east and south, they were bounded by the Rahtores of Bikaneer and Marwar, who had been gradually encroaching for two centuries, and continue to do so to this day. The entire *thul* of Barmair and Kottorah, in the south, were Bhatti chieftainships and eastward to the site of Bikaneer itself.

Umra Sing, son of Subbul, succeeded. He led the *tika-dour* against the Baloches, who had invaded the western tracts, and was installed on the field of victory. Soon after, he demanded aid from his subjects to portion his daughter, and being opposed by his Rajpoot minister, Raghonath, he put him to death. The Chunna Rajpoots, from the north-east, having renewed their old raids, he in person attacked and compelled them to give bonds, or written obligations, for their future good conduct.

Provoked by the daily encroachments of the Kandulote Rahtores, Soonder-das and Dilput, chiefs of Beekumpur, determined to retaliate: "let us get a name in the world," said Dilput, "and attack the lands of the Rahtores." Accordingly, they invaded, plundered, and fired the town of Jujoo, on the Bikaneer frontier. The Kandulotes retaliated on the towns of Jessulmeer, and an action took place, in which the Bhattis were victorious, slaying two hundred of the Rahtores. The Rawul partook in the triumph of his vassals. Raja Anop Sing of Bikaneer was then serving with the imperial armies in the Dekhan. On receiving this account, he commanded his minister to issue a summons to every Khandulote capable of carrying arms to invade Jessulmeer, and take and raze Beekumpur, or he would consider them traitors. The minister issued the summons; every Rahtore obeyed it, and he added, as an auxiliary, a Pathan chief with his band from Hissar. Rawul Umra collected his Bhattis around him, and instead of awaiting the attack, advanced to meet it; he slew many of the chiefs, burnt the frontier towns, and recovered Poogul,

* The Garah is invariably called the Behah in the chronicle. Garah, or Gharra, is so called, in all probability, from the mud (*gar*) suspended in its waters. The Garah is composed of the waters of Behah and Sutlej.

forcing the Rahtore chiefs of Barmair and Kottorah to renew their engagements of fealty and service.

Umra had eight sons, and was succeeded by Jeswunt, the eldest, in S. 1758 (A. D. 1702), whose daughter was married to the heir-apparent of Mewar.

Here ends the chronicle, of which the foregoing is an abstract: the concluding portion of the annals is from a MS. furnished by a living chronicler corrected by other information. It is but a sad record of anarchy and crime.

Soon after the death of Rawul Umra, Poogul, Barmair, Filodi, and various other towns and territories in Jessulmeer, were wrested from this state by the Rahtores.*

The territory bordering the Garah was taken by Daod Khan, an Afghan chieftain from Shikarpur, and it became the nucleus of a state called after himself Daodpotra,

Jeswunt Sing succeeded. He had five sons, Juggut Sing, who committed suicide, Esuri Sing, Tej Sing, Sirdar Sing and Sooltan Sing. Juggut Sing had three sons, Akhi Sing, Bood Sing and Zoorawur Sing.

Akhi Sing succeeded. Bood Sing died of the small-pox; Tej Sing, uncle to the Rawul, usurped the government, and the princes fled to Delhi to save their lives. At this period, their grand-uncle, Hurri Sing (brother of Rawul Jeswunt), was serving the king, and he returned in order to displace the usurper. It is customary for the prince of Jessulmeer to go annually in state to the lake Gursi-sirr, to perform the ceremony of *Las*, or clearing away the accumulation of mud and sand. The Raja first takes out a handful, when rich and poor follow his example. Hurri Sing chose the time when this ceremony was in progress to attack the usurper. The attempt did not altogether succeed; but Tej Sing was so severely wounded that he died, and was succeeded by his son,

Sowae Sing, an infant of three years of age. Akhi Sing collected the Bhattis from all quarters, stormed the castle, put the infant to death, and regained his rights.

Akhi Sing ruled forty years. During this reign, Bahwul

* The most essential use to which my labour can be applied, is that of enabling the British Government, when called upon to exercise its functions, as protector and arbitrator of the international quarrels of Rajpootana, to understand the legitimate and original grounds of dispute. Here we perceive the germ of the border-feuds, which have led to so much bloodshed between Bikaneer and Jessulmeer, in which the former was the first aggressor; but as the latter, for the purpose of redeeming her lost territory, most frequently appears as the agitator of public tranquillity, it is necessary to look for the remote cause in pronouncing our award.

Khan, son of Daod Khan, took Derawul and all the tract of Khadal, the first Bhatti conquest, and added it to his new state of Bahwulpoor, or Daodpotra.

Moolraj succeeded in S. 1818 (A. D. 1762). He had three sons, Rae Sing, Jaet Sing, and Man Sing. The unhappy choice of a minister by Moolraj completed the demoralization of the Bhatti principality. This minister was named Suroop Sing, a Bania of the Jain faith and Mehta family, destined to be the exterminators of the laws and fortunes of the 'sons of Jessul.' The cause of hatred and revenge of this son of commerce to the Bhatti aristoracy arose out of a disgraceful dispute regarding a *Bukhtun*, a fair frail one, a favourite of the Mehta, but who preferred the Rajpoot, Sirdar Sing, of the tribe of Aef. The Bhatti chief carried his complaint of the minister to the heir-apparent, Rae Sing, who had also cause of grievance in the reduction of his income. It was suggested to the prince to put this presumptuous minister to death; this was effected by the prince's own hand, in his father's presence; and as the Mehta, in falling, clung to Moolraj for protection, it was proposed to take off Moolraj at the same time. The proposition, however, was rejected with horror by the prince, whose vengeance was satisfied. The Rawul was allowed to escape to the female apartments; but the chieftains, well knowing they could not expect pardon from the Rawul, insisting on investing Rae Sing, and if he refused, on placing his brother on the *gadi*, the *an* of Rae Sing was proclaimed; but no entreaty or threat would induce him to listen to the proposal of occupying the throne; in lieu of which he used a pallet (*khat*). Three months and five days had passed since the deposal and bondage of Moolraj, when a female resolved to emancipate him: this female was the wife of the chief conspirator and confidential adviser of the regent prince. This noble dame, a Rahtore Rajpootni, of the Mahecha clan, was the wife of Anop Sing of Jinjiniali, the premier noble of Jessulmeer, and who, wearied with the tyranny of the minister and the weakness of the prince, had proposed the death of the one and the deposal of the other. We are not made acquainted with any reason, save that of *swamdherma*, or 'fealty,' which prompted the Rahtorni to rescue her prince even at the risk of her husband's life; but her appeal to her son Zoorawur, to perform his duty, is preserved, and we give it *verbatim*: "should your father oppose you, sacrifice him to your duty, and I will mount the pyre with his corpse." The son yielded obedience to the injunction of his magnanimous parent, who had sufficient influence to gain over Arjoon, the brother of her husband, as well as Megh Sing, Chief of Baroo. The three chieftains

forced an entrance into the prison where their prince was confined, who refused to be released from his manacles, until he was told that the Mahechi had promoted the plot for his liberty. The sound of the grand *nakarra*, proclaiming Moolraj's repossession of the *gadi*, awoke his son from sleep; and on the herald depositing at the side of his pallet the sable *siropa*,* and all the insignia of exile,—the black steed and black vestments,—the prince, obeying the command of the Rawul, clad himself therein, and accompanied by his party, bade adieu to Jessulmeer and took the road to Kottoroh. When he arrived at this town, on the southern frontier of the state, the chief proposed to 'run the country'; but he replied, "the country was his mother, and every Rajpoot his foe who injured it." He rapaired to Jodhpur, but the chieftains abided about Sheo Kottoroh and Barmair, and during the twelve years they remained outlaws, plundered even to the gates of Jessulmeer. In the first three years they devastated the country, their castles were dismantled, the wells therein filled up, and their estates sequestrated. At the end of the twelve, having made the *tilak*, or oath against further plunder, their estates were restored, and they were re-admitted into their country.

The banished prince remained two years and-a-half with Raja Beejy Sing, who treated him like a son. But he carried his arrogant demeanour with him to Jodhpur; for one day, as he was going out to hunt, a Bania, to whom he was indebted, seized his horse by the bridle, and invoking the *an* of Beejy Sing, demanded payment of his debt. The prince, in turn, required him, with the invocation "by Moolraj!" to unloose his hold. But the man of wealth, disregarding the appeal, insolently replied, "what is Moolraj to me?" It was the last word he spoke; the sword of Rae Sing was unsheathed, and the Bania's head rolled on the ground; then turning his horse's head to Jessulmeer, exclaimed, "better be a slave at once, than live on the bounty of another." His unexpected arrival outside his native city brought out the entire population ro see him. His father, the Rawul, sent to know what had occasioned his presence, and he replied, that it was merely preparatory to pilgrimage. He was refused admittance; his followers were disarmed, and he was sent to reside at the fortress of Dewoh, together with his sons Abhe Sing and Dhonkul Sing, and their families.

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* *Siropa* is the rajpoot term for *Khelat*, and is used by those who, like the Rana of Oodipoor, prefer the vernacular dialect to the corrupt Jargon of the Islamite. *Sir-o-pa* (from 'head' *sir*, to 'foot' *pa*) means a complete dress; in short, *cap-a-pied*

Salim Sing, who succeeded his father as prime minister of Jessulmeer was but eleven years of age at the time of his murder. His young mind appears, even at that early age, to have been a hot-bed for revenge; and the seeds which were sown quickened into a luxuriance rarely equalled even in those regions, where human life is held in little estimation. Without any of that daring valour which distinguishes the Rajpoot, he overcame, throughout a long course of years, all who opposed him, uniting the subtlety of the serpent to the ferocity of the tiger. In person he was effeminate, in speech bland; pliant and courteous in demeanour; promising without hesitation, and with all the semblance of sincerity, what he never had the most remote intention to fulfil. Salim, or, as he was generally designated by his tribe, *the Mehta*, was a signal instance of a fact of which these annals exhibit too many examples, namely, the inadequacy of religious professions, though of a severe character, as a restraint on moral conduct; for though the tenets of his faith (the Jain) imperatively prescribe the necessity of "hurting no sentient being," and of sitting in the dark, rather than by luring a moth into the flame of a lamp, incur the penalty attached to the sin of insect-murder, this man has sent more of "the sons of Jessoh" to *Yamaloka*,* than the sword of their external foes during his long administration. He had scarcely attained man's estate when the outlawed chiefs were restored to their estates by a singular intervention. Raja Bheem Sing had acceded to the *gadi* of Marwar, and the Mehta was chosen by the prince of Jessulmeer, as his representative, to convey his congratulations, and the *tika* of acknowledgment on his succession, to Raja Beejy Sing. On his return from this mission, he was waylaid and captured by the outlawed chieftains, who instantly passed sentence of death upon the author of their miseries. The sword was uplifted, when, 'placing his turban at the feet of Zoorawur Sing,' he implored his protection—and he found it! Such is the Rajpoot,—an anomaly amongst his species; his character a compound of the opposite and antagonistical qualities which impel mankind to virtue and to crime. Let me recall to the mind of the reader, that the protector of this vampire was the virtuous son of the virtuous Rajpootni who, with the elevation of mind equal to whatever is recorded of Greek or Roman heroines, devoted herself, and a husband whom she loved, to the one predominant sentiment of the Rajpoot, *swamdherma*, or 'fealty to the sovereign.' Yet had the wily Mehta effected the disgrace of this brave chief, to whom the Rawul owed his release

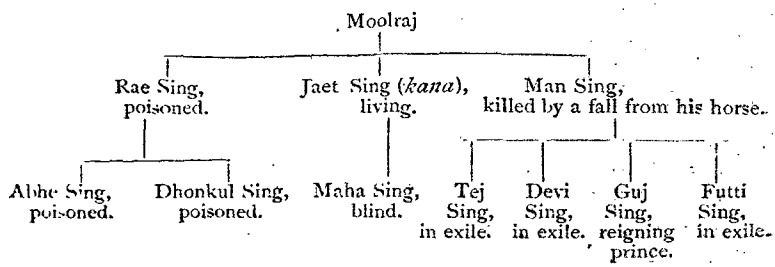
* Pluto's realm.

from bondage and restoration to his throne, and forced him to join the outlaws against the sand-hills of Barmair. Nothing can paint more strongly the influence of this first of the Bhatti chiefs over his brethren than the act of preserving the life of their mortal foe, thus cast into their hands; for not only did they dissuade him from the act, but prophesied his repentance of such mistaken clemency. Only one condition was stipulated, their restoration to their homes. They were recalled, but not admitted to court, a distinction reserved for Zoorawur alone.

When Rao Sing was incarcerated in Dewoh, his eldest son, Abhe Sing, *Rajkumar*, heir-apparent, with the second son, Dhonkul, were left at Barmair, with the outlawed chiefs. The Rawul, having in vain demanded his grand-children, prepared an army and invested Barmair. It was defended during six months, when a capitulation was acceded to, and the children were given up to Moolraj on the bare pledge of Zoorawur Sing, who guaranteed their safety; and they were sent to the castle of Dewoh, where their father was confined. Soon after the castle was fired and Rae Sing and his wife were consumed in the flames. On escaping this danger, which was made to appear accidental, the young princes were confined in the fortress of Ramgurh, in the most remote corner of the desert, bordering the valley of Sinde, for their security and that of the Rawul (according to the Mehta's account), and to prevent faction from having a nucleus around which to form. But Zoorawur, who entertained doubts of the minister's motives, reminded the Rawul that the proper place for the heir-apparent was the court, and that his honour stood pledged for his safety. This was sufficient for the Mehta, whose mind was instantly intent upon the means to rid himself of so conscientious an adviser. Zoorawur had a brother named Kaitsi, whose wife, according to the courtesy of Rajwarra had adopted the minister as her brother. Salim sounded his adopted sister as to her wish to see her husband become lord of Jinginialli. The tempter succeeded: he furnished her with poisoned comfits, which she administered to the gallant Zoorawur; and her lord was inducted into the estates of Jinginialli. Having thus disposed of the soul of the Bhatti nobility, he took off in detail the chiefs of Baroo, Dangri, and many others, chiefly by the same means, though some by the dagger. Kaitsi, who, whether innocent, or a guilty participant in his brother's death, had benefited thereby was marked in the long list of proscription of this fiend, who determined to exterminate every Rajpoot of note. Kaitsi knew too much, and those connected with him shared in this dangerous knowledge: wife, brother, son, were therefore destined to fall by the same blow. The immediate cause

of enmity was as follows. The minister, who desired to set aside the claims of the children of Rae Sing to the *gadi*, and to nominate the youngest son of Moolraj as heir-apparent, was opposed by Kaitsi, as it could only be effected by the destruction of the former; and he replied, that "no co-operation of his should sanction the spilling of the blood of any of his master's family." Salim treasured up the remembrance of this opposition to his will, though without any immediate sign of displeasure. Soon after, Kaitsi and his brother Suroop were returning from a nuptial ceremoney at Kunero, in the district of Bhalotra. On reaching Beejoraye, on the Jessulmeer frontier, where the ministers of the Mehta's vengeance were posted, the gallant Zoorawur and his brother were conducted into the castle, out of which their bodies were brought only to be burnt. Hearing of some intended evil to her lord, Kaitsi's wife, with her infant son, Megha, sought protection in the minister's own abode, where she had a double claim, as his adopted sister, to sanctuary and protection. For five days, the farce was kept up of sending food for herself and child; but the slave who conveyed it remarking, in coarse, unfeeling language, that both her husband and her brother were with their father's, she gave a loose to grief and determined on revenge. This being reported to the Mehta, he sent a dagger for her repose.

The princes, Abhe Sing and Dhonkul Sing, confined in the fortress of Ramgurh, after the murder of Kaitsi were carried off, together with their wives and infants, by poison. The murderer then proclaimed Guj Sing, the youngest but one of all the posterity of Moolraj, as heir-apparent. His brothers sought security in flight from this fiend-like spirit of the minister, and are now refugees in the Bikaneer territory. The following slip from the genealogical tree will shew the branches so unmercifully lopped off by this monster:



Maha Sing, being blind of one eye* (*kana*) could not succeed; and Man Sing being killed by a fall from his horse, the Mehta was saved the crime of adding one more "mortal murther to his crown."

It is a singular fact, that the longest reigns we know of in Rajwarra occurred during ministerial usurpations. The late Maharao of Kotah occupied the *gadi* upwards of half a century, and the Rawul Moolraj swayed the nominal sceptre of this *oasis* of the desert upwards of fifty-eight years. His father ruled forty years, and I doubt whether, in all history, we can find another instance of father and son reigning for a century. This century was prolific in change to the dynasty, whose whole history is full of strange vicissitudes. If we go back to Jeswunt Sing, the grandfather of Moolraj, we find the Bhatti principality touching the Garah on the north which divided it from Mooltan, on the west it was bounded by the Punjnud, and thus included a narrow slip of the fertile valley of Sinde; and we have seen it stretch, at no remote period, even to the ancient capital Mansoora better known to the Hindu as Rori-Bekher, the islandic capital of the Sogdi (*Soda*) of Alexander. To the south, it rested on Dhat, including the castles of Sheo Kottoroh, and Barmair, seized on by Marwar; and in the east embraced the districts of Filodi, Pokurn, and other parts, also in the possession of Marwar and Bikneer. The whole of the state of Bhawulpur is formed out of the Bhatti dominion, and the Rahtores have obtained therefrom not a small portion of their western frontier. This abstraction of territory will account for the heart-burnings and border feuds which continually break out between the

* A person blind of one eye is incompetent to succeed, according to Hindu law. *Kana* is the nickname given to a person labouring under this personal defect, which term is merely an anagram of *anka*, 'the eye.' The loss of an eye does not deprive an occupant of his rights—of which we had a curious example in the siege of the imperial city of Delhi, which gave rise to the remark, that the three greatest men therein had only the complement of one man amongst them; the Emperor had been deprived of both eyes by the brutality of Gholam Kadir; the besieging chief Holcar was *kana*, as was the defender, Sir D. Ochterlony. Holcar's name has become synonimous with *kana*, and many a horse, dog and man, blind of an eye, is called after this celebrated Mahratta leader. The Hindus, by what induction I know not, attach a degree of moral obliquity to every individual *kana* and appear to make no distinction between the natural and the acquired defect; though to all *kanas* they apply another and more dignified appellation, *Sukrachaya*, the Jupiter of their astromythology, which very grave personage came by his misfortune in no creditable way,—for, although the *guru*, or spiritual head of the Hindu Gods, he set as bad a moral example to them as did the classical Jupiter to the tenants of the Greek and Roman Pantheon.

Bhattis and Rahtores, and "the children of David (*Daodputras.*)"

Could the same prophetic steel which carved upon the pillar of Brimsir the destinies of the grandson of the deified Heri, eleven hundred years before Christ, have subjoined to that of Jessoh the fate which awaited his descendant Moolraj, he would doubtless have regarded the prophecy as conveying a falsehood too gross for belief. That the offspring of the deified prince of Dwarica, who founded Guzni, and fought the united kings of Syria and Bactria, should, at length, be driven back on India, and compelled to seek shelter under the sign of the cross, reared amidst their sandhills by a handful of strangers, whose ancestors, when they were even in the maturity of their fame, were wandering in their native woods, with painted bodies, and offering human sacrifices to the sun-god,—more resembling Balsiva then Balcrishna,—these would have seemed prodigious too wild for faith.

CHAPTER. VI.

Rawul Moolraj enters into treaty with the English.—The Raja dies.—His grandson, Guj Sing, proclaimed.—He becomes a mere puppet in the minister's hands.—Third article of the Treaty.—Inequality of the alliance.—Its importance to Jessulmeer.—Consequences to be apprehended by the British Government.—Dangers attending the enlarging the circle of our political connections.—Importance of Jessulmeer in the event of Russian invasion.—British occupation of the valley of the Indus considered.—Salim Sing's administration resumed.—His rapacity and tyranny increase.—Wishes his office to be hereditary.—Report of the British agent to his Government.—Palliwals self-exiled.—Banker's families kept as hostages.—Revenues arising from confiscation.—Wealth of the minister.—Border-feud detailed to exemplify the interference of the paramount power.—The Maldotes of Baroo.—Their history.—Nearly exterminated by the Rahtores of Bikaneer.—Stimulated by the minister Salim Sing.—Cause of this treachery.—He calls for British interference.—Granted.—Result.—Rawul Guj Sing arrives at Oodipoor.—Marries the Rana's daughter.—Influence of this lady.

It was in the *Samvat* (era) of Vicrama, 1818, that Rawul Moolraj was inaugurated on the throne of Jessoh; and it was

in the year of our Lord 1818, that a treaty of "perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests" was concluded between the Honorable East India Company and Maha Rawul Moolraj, the Raja of Jessulmeer, his heirs and successors, the latter agreeing "to act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and with submission to its supremacy."* This was almost the last act of Rawul Moolraj, who had always been a mere puppet in the hands of Mehta Salim Sing or his father. He died A. D. 1820, when his grandson, Guj Sing, was proclaimed,

Rawul Guj Sing was fitted, from his years, his past seclusion, and the examples which had occurred before his eyes, to be the submissive pageant Salim Sing required. Isolated, in every sense, from intercourse with the rest of mankind, by the policy of the minister, he had no community of sympathy with them, and no claim upon their aid. Surrounded by the creatures of Salim Sing, who, even to their daily dole, ascribe everything to this man's favour, each word, each gesture, is watched and reported. The prince himself, his wives and family, are alike dependents on the minister's bounty, often capriciously exercised. If he requires a horse, he must solicit it; or if desirous of bestowing some recompense, he requests to be furnished with the means, and deems himself fortunate if he obtain a moiety of his suit.

It will be observed from the date of this treaty (Dec. 1818), that Jessulmer was the last of the states of India received under the protection of the British Government. Its distance made it an object of little solicitude to us; and the minister, it is said, had many long and serious consultations with his oracles before he united his destiny with ours. He doubted the security of his power if the Rawul should become subordinate to the British Government; and he was only influenced by the greater risk by being the sole state in Rajwarra without the pale of its protection, which would have left him to the mercy of those enemies whom his merciless policy had created around him. The third and most important article of the treaty † tranquillized his apprehensions as to external foes; with these apprehensions all fear as to the consequence arising from ministerial tyranny towards the princely exiles was banished, and we shall presently find that this alliance, instead of checking his rapacity and oppression, incited them. But it is necessary

* See Appendix No. III. for a copy of this treaty.

† Art. III. "In the event of any serious invasion directed towards the overthrow of the principality of Jessulmeer, or other danger of great magnitude occurring to that principality, the British Government will exert

in the first place, to bestow a few remarks on the policy of the alliance as regards the British Government.

Its inequality requires no domonstration: the objects to be attained by it to the respective parties having no approximation to parity. The advantages to Jessulmeer were immediate; and to use the phraseology of the treaty, were not only of "great magnitude," but were vitally important. From the instant the treaties were exchanged, her existence as a permanent state, which was not worth half a century's purchase, was secured. Her power had been gradually declining, and reign after reign was narrowing her possessions to the vicinity of the capital. One state, Bhawulpur, had been formed from her northern territory; while those of Sinde, Bikaneer and Jodhpur, had been greatly aggrandized at her expense; and all were inclined, as occasion arose to encroach upon her feebleness. The faithless character of the minister, Salim Sing afforded abundant pretexts for quarrel, and the anarchy of her neighbours proved her only safeguard during the later years of her independent existence. Now, the British Government having pledged itself to exert its power for the protection of the principality, in the event of any "serious invasion," her fears either of Sindies, Daodputras or of Rahtores, are at rest. The full extent of this pledge may not have been contemplated when it was given; like all former alliances, it is the base of another step in advance. Instead of restricting the vast circle of our political connexions, it at once carried us out of India, placing us in actual contact and possible collision with the rulers of Sinde and the people beyond the Indus. Marwar and Bikaneer being already admitted to our alliance, the power of setting their feuds with the Bhattis is comparatively simple; but with Daodputra we have no political connexions, and with Sinde, only those of "perpetual friendship, and mutual intercourse:" but no stipulation ensuring respect to our remonstrances in case of the aggression of their subjects on our Bhatti ally. Are we then to push our troops through the desert to repel such acts, or must we furnish pecuniary subsidies (the cheapest mode), that she may entertain mercenaries for that object? We must view it, in this light, as an event, not only not improbable, but of very likely occurrence. Our alliance with Cutch involved us in this perplexity in 1819. Our armies were formed and moved to the frontier, and a declaration of war was avoided only by accepting a tardy *amende* in no way commensurate with

its power for the protection of the principality, provided that the quarrel be not ascribable to the Raja of Jessulmeer.

the insult of invading, massacring, and pillaging our allies.* In this instance, our means of chastisement were facilitated by our maritime power of grappling with the enemy, but if the insult proceeds from the government of Upper Sinde (only nominally dependent on Hyderabad), or from Bhawulpur, how are we to cope with these enemies of our ally? Such wars might lead us into a *terra incognita* beyond the Indus, or both the spirit and letter of the treaty will be null.

What, therefore, are the advantages we can hold out to ourselves for the volunteer of our amity and protection to this oasis of the desert? To have disregarded the appeal of Jessulmeer for protection, to have made her the sole exception in all Rajpootana from our amicable relations, would have been to consign her to her numerous enemies, and to let loose the spirit of rapine and revenge, which it was the main object of all these treaties to suppress: the Bhattis would have become a nation of robbers, the Bedouins of the Indian desert. Jessulmeer was the first link in a chain of free states, which formerly united the commerce of the Ganges with that of the Indus, but which interminable feuds had completely severed; the possibility of reunion depending upon a long continuance of tranquillity and confidence. This object alone would have warranted our alliance with Jessulmeer. But if we look to futurity, to the possible invasion of India, which can be best effected through the maritime provinces of Persia, the valley of the Indus will be the base of the invader's operations. The possession of Jessulmeer would then be of vital importance by giving us the command of Upper Sinde, and enabling us to act against the enemy simultaneously with our armies east of the Delta, the most practicable point of advance into India. We may look upon invasion by the ancient routes pursued by Alexander, Mahmood, and Timoor, as utterly visonary, by an army encumbered with all the *materiel* necessary to success, and thus the valley of Sinde presents the only practicable route. But it would be a grand error, both in a political and military point of view, to possess ourselves of this

* The attitude assumed by the energetic Government of Bombay, Mr. Elphinstone, on that occasion, will for a long time remain a lesson to the triumvirate government of Sinde. To the Author it still appears a subject of regret that, with the adequte preparation, the season, and every thing promising a certainty of success, the pacific tone of Lord Hasting's policy should have prevented the proper assertion of our dignity, by chastising an insult, aggravated in every shape. A treaty of amity and mutual intercourse was the result of this armament; but although twelve years have since elapsed, our intercourse has remained *in statu quo*: but this is no ground for quarrel.

valley, even if an opportunity were again to occur. It is true, the resources of that fertile region, so analogous to Egypt, would soon, under our management, maintain an army sufficient to defend it; and this would bring us at once into contact with the power (Persia) which cling to us for support; and will be adverse to us only when rendered subservient to Russia. It were well to view the possible degradation and loss of power to Russia, in Europe, as likely to afford a fresh stimulant to her ancient schemes of oriental aggrandisement. By some, these schemes are looked upon as Quixotic, and I confess myself to be of the number. The better Russia is acquainted with the regions she would have to pass, the less desire will she evince for an undertaking, which, even if successfull in the outset, would be useless; for if she conquered, she could not maintain India. But, to me, it still appears imperative that this power should formally renounce such designs; the state of perpetual preparation rendered necessary by her menacing position, being so injurious to our finances, is worse than the actual attempt, which would only entail upon her inevitable loss. We lost through our unwise economy, a noble opportunity of maintaining an ascendancy at the court of Caubul, which would have been easily prevailed upon, for pecuniary aid, to make over to us the sovereignty of Sinde (were this desirable), which is still considered a grand division of Caubul.

But setting the political question aside, and considering our possession of the valley of Sinde only in a military point of view, our occupation of it would be prejudicial to us. We should have a long line to defend, and rivers are no barriers in modern warfare. Whilst an impassable desert is between us, and we have the power, by means of our allies, of assailing an enemy at several points, though we are liable to attack but from one, an invader could not maintain himself a single season. On this ground, the maintenance of friendship with this remote nook of Rajpoot civilization is defensible, and we have the additional incitement of rescuing the most industrious and wealthy commercial communities in India from the fangs of a harpy: to whom, and the enormities of his government, we return.

No language can adequately represent the abuse of power with which the treaty has armed the rapacious minister of Jessulmeer, and it is one of the many instances of the inefficacy of our system of alliances to secure prosperity, or even tranquillity to these long-afflicted regions, which although rescued from external assailants, are still the prey of discord and passion within. It will not be difficult, at the proper time

and place, to make this appear.* The Mehta felt the advantages which the treaty gave him, in respect to neighbouring states; but he also felt that he had steeped himself too deeply in the blood of his master's family, and in that of his noblest chieftains, to hope that any repentance, real or affected, could restore to him the confidence of those he had so outraged. With commercial men, with the industrious husbandman or pastoral communities, he had so long forfeited all claim to credit, that his oath was not valued at a single grain of the sand of their own desert dominion.

The bardic annalist of Rajpootana, when compelled to record the acts of a tyrant, first announces his moral death: then comes the metempsychosis,—the animating his frame with the spirit of a demon. In this manner is delineated the famed Visaldeo, the Chohan king of Ajmeer. Whether the Bhatti minister will obtain such a posthumous apology for his misdeeds, a future historian will learn; but assuredly he is never mentioned, either in poetry or prose, but as a vampire, draining the life-blood of a whole people. For a short time after the treaty was formed, he appeared to fall in with the march of universal reformation; but whether it was that his crimes had outlawed him from the sympathies of all around, or that he could feel no enjoyment but in his habitual crimes, he soon gave ampler indulgence to his rapacious spirit. The cause of his temporary forbearance was attributed to his anxiety to have an article added to the treaty, guaranteeing the office of prime minister in his family, perhaps with a view to legalize his plunder; but seeing no hope of fixing an hereditary race of vampires on the land, his outrages became past all endurance, and compelled the British agent, at length, to report to his government (on the 17th December 1821), that he considered the alliance disgraceful to our reputation, by countenancing the idea that such acts can be tolerated under its protection. Representations to the minister were a nullity; he protested against their fidelity; asserted in specious language his love of justice and mercy; and recommenced his system of confiscations, and punishments, with redoubled severity. All Rajwarra felt an interest in these proceedings, as the bankers of Jessulmer, supported by the capital of that singular class, the Palliwals, are spread all over India. But this rich community amounting to five thousand families, are nearly all in voluntary exile

* It is my intention (if space is left) to give a concise statement of the effects of our alliances, individually and collectively, in the states of Rajwarra, with a few hints towards amending the system, at the conclusion of this volume.

and the bankers fear to return to their native land with the fruits of their industry, which they would renounce for ever, but that he retains their families as hostages. Agriculture is almost unknown, and commerce, internal or external, has ceased through want of security. The sole revenue arises from confiscation. It is asserted that the minister has amassed no less than *two crores*, which wealth is distributed in the various cities of of Hindusthan, and has been obtained by pillage and the destruction of the most opulent families of his country during the last twelve years. He has also, it is said, possessed himself of all the crown-jewels and property of value, which he has sent out of the country. Applications were continually being made to the British agent for passports (*perwanas*), by commercial men, to withdraw their families from the country. But all have some ties which would be hazarded by their withdrawing, even if such a step were otherwise free from danger; for while the minister afforded passports, in obedience to the wish of the agent, he might cut them off in the desert. This makes many bear the ills they have.

We shall terminate our historical sketch of Jessulmer with the details of a border-feud, which called into operation the main condition of the British alliance,—the right of universal arbitration in the international quarrels of Rajpootana. The predatory habits of the Maldotes of Baroo originated a rupture, which threatened to involve the two states in war, and produced an invasion of the Rahtores, sufficiently serious to warrant British interference. It will hardly be credited that this aggression, which drew down upon the Maldotes the vengeance of Bikaneer, was covertly stimulated by the minister for the express purpose of their extirpation, for reasons which will appear presently; yet he was the first to complain of the retaliation. To understand this matter, a slight sketch of the Maldote tribe is requisite.

The Maldotes, the Kailuns, the Birsungs, the Pohurs, and Tezmalotes, are all Bhatti tribes: but, from their lawless habits, these names have become, like those of Bedouin, Kuzzak, or Pindarri, synonimous with 'robber.' The first are descended from Rao Maldoo, and hold the fief (*putta*) of Baroo, consisting of eighteen villages, adjoining the tract called Khari-putta, wrested from the Bhattis by the Rahtores of Bikaneer, who, to confess the truth, morally deserve the perpetual hostility of this Bhatti lord-marcher, inasmuch as they were the intruders, and have deprived them (the Bhattis) of much territory. But the Rahtores, possessing the strongest, about twenty-five years ago exercised it in the most savage manner; for having invaded Baroo, they put almost the entire community to the sword, without

respect to age or sex, levelled the towns, filled up the wells, and carried off the herds and whatever was of value. The survivors took shelter in the recesses of the desert, and propagated a progency, which, about the period of connection with the British, re-occupied their deserted lands. The minister, it is asserted, beheld the revival of this infant colony with no more favourable eye than did their enemies of Bikaneer, whom, it is alleged, he invited once more to their destruction. The lawless habits of this tribe would have been assigned by the minister as his motive for desiring their extermination; but if we look back, we shall discover the real cause in his having incurred the lasting enmity of this clan for the foul assassination of their chief, who had been a party to the views of the heir-apparent, Rae Sing, to get rid of this incubus on their freedom. The opportunity afforded to take vengeance on the Maldotes arose out of a service indirectly done to the British Government. On the revolt of the Peshwa. he sent his agents to Jessulmeer to purchase camels. One herd, to the number of four hundred, had left the Bhatti frontiers, and whilst passing through the Bikaneer territory, were set upon by the Maldotes, who captured the whole, and conveyed them to Baroo. It is scarcely to be supposed that such an aggression on the independence of Bikaneer would have prompted her extensive armament, or the rapidity with which her troops passed the Bhatti frontier to avenge the insult, without some private signal from the minister, who was loud in his call for British interference; though not until Nokha and Baroo, their principal towns, were levelled, the chief killed, the wells filled up, and the victorious army following up its success by a rapid march on Beekumpur, in which the fiscal lands began to suffer. The minister then discovered he had overshot the mark, and claimed our interference,* which was rapid and effectual; and the Bikaneer commander the more willingly complied with the request to retire within his own frontier, having effected more than his object.

The tortuous policy, the never-ending and scarcely-to-be-comprehended border-feuds of those regions, must, for a long while, generate such appeals. Since these associated bands attach no dishonour to their predatory profession, it will be some time before they acquire proper notions; but when they

* The Author has omitted to mention that he was Political Agent for Jessulmeer; so that his control extended uninterruptedly, almost from Sinde to Sinde: i.e., from the Indus, or great Sindh, to the *Choota-Sindh*, or little river. There are several streams designated Sindh, in Central India, a word purely Tatar, or Scythic. *Aba-sin*, 'the Father River,' is one of the many names of the Indus.

discover there is no retreat in which punishment may not reach them, they will learn the benefits of cultivating the arts of peace, of whose very name no trace exists in their history.

We have lost sight of the Rawul, the title of the prince of Jessulmeer, in the prominent acts of his minister. Guj Sing, who occupies the *gadi* of Jessoh, to the prejudice of his elder brothers, who are still in exile in Bikaneer, appears very well suited to the minister's purpose, and to have little desire beyond his horses, and vegetating in quiet. The physiognomists of Jessulmeer, however prognosticate the development of moral worth in due season: a consummation devoutly to be wished, and the first symptom of which must be the riddance of his minister by whatever process. The artful Salim deemed that it would redound to his credit, and bolster up his interest, to seek a matrimonial alliance with the Rana's family of Mewar. The overture was accepted, and the coco-symbol transmitted to the Rawul, who put himself at the head of the Bhatti chivalry to wed and escort his bride through the desert. The Rahtore princes of Bikaneer and Kishengurh, who were at the same time suitors for the hands of another daughter and a grand-daughter of the Rana, simultaneously arrived at Oodipoor with their respective *corteges*; and this triple alliance threw a degree of splendour over the capital of the Seesodias, to which it had long been a stranger. Guj Sing lives very happily with his wife, who has given him an heir to his desert domain. The influence of high rank is seen in the respect paid to the Ranawut-ji (the title by which she is designated), even by the minister, and she exerts this influence most humanely for the amelioration of her subjects.*

* I had the honour of receiving several letters from this queen of the desert, who looked to her father's house and his friends, as the best objects for support, whilst such a being as Salim was the master of her own and her husband's destiny.

CHAPTER VII.

Geographical position of Jessulmer.—Its superficial area.—List of its chief towns.—Population.—Jessulmeer chiefly desert.—Muggro, *a rocky ridge, traced from Cutch.* Sirrs, *or salt-marshes.—Kanoad Sirr.—Soil.—Productions.—Husbandry.—Manufactures.—Commerce.*—Kuttars, *or caravans.—Articles of trade.—Revenues.—Land and transit taxes.*—Dhanni, *or Collector.—Amount of land-tax exacted from the cultivator.*—Dhooa, *hearth-tax,*—Thali *or tax on food.*—Dind *or forced contribution.—Citizens refuse to pay.—Enormous wealth accumulated by the minister by extortion.—Establishments.—Expenditure.—Tribes.*—Bhattis.—*Their moral estimation.—Personal appearance and dress.—Their predilection for opium and tobacco.*—Palliwals, *their history.—Numbers wealth, employment.—Curious rite or worship.—Palli Jains.*—Pokurna *Brahmins. Title.—Numbers.—Singular typal worship.—Race of Jut.—Castle of Jessulmeer.*

The country still dependent on the Rawul extends between 70° 30′ and 72° 30′ E. long, and between the parallels of 26° 20′ and 27° 50′ N. lat, though a small strip protrudes, in the N. E. angle as high as 28° 30′. This irregular surface may be roughly estimated to contain fifteen thousand square miles. The number of towns, villages, and halmets, scattered over this wide space, does not exceed two hundred and fifty ; some estimate it at three hundred, and others depress it to two hundred : the mean cannot be wide of the truth. To enable the reader to arrive at a conclusion as to the population of this region, we subjoin a calculation, from data furnished by the best-informed natives which was made in the year 1815 ; but we must add, that from the tyranny of the minister, the population of the capital (which is nearly half of the country), has been greatly diminished.

Towns.	Fiscal and Feudal.	Number of Houses.	Number of Inhabitants.	Remarks.
Jessulmeer ...	Capital ...	7,000	35,000	The chief has the title of Rao, and twenty-four villages dependent not included in this estimate.
Beekumpoor ...	Puttaet ...	500	2,000	
Seeruroh ...	Do. ...	300	1,200	Kailun Bhatti : the Kailun tribe extends to Poogul.
Nachna ...	Do. ...	400	1,600	Rawulete chief.
Katori ...	Fiscal ...	300	1,200	
Kabah ...	Do. ...	300	1,200	
Kooldurro ...	Do. ...	200	800	
Suttoh ...	Puttaet ...	300	1,200	
Jinjinialli ...	Do. ...	300	1,200	Rawulote : first noble of Jessulmeer.
Devi-Kote ...	Fiscal ...	200	800	
Bhaup ...	Do. ...	200	800	
Balana ...	Puttaet ...	150	600	
Sutiasi ...	Do ...	100	400	
Baroo ...	Do. ...	200	800	Maldote : has eighteen villages attached, not included in this,
Chan ...	Do. ...	200	800	
Bharki ...	Do. ...	150	600	All of the Rawulote clan.
Loantulloh ...	Do. ...	150	600	
Lahti ...	Do. ...	300	1,200	
Danguri ...	Do. ...	150	600	
Beejoraye ...	Fiscal ...	200	800	
Mundaye ...	Do. ...	200	800	
Ramgurh ...	Do. ...	200	800	
Birshpoor ...	Puttaet ...	200	800	
Girajsir ...	Do. ...	150	600	
Two thousand and twenty-five villages and halmets, from four to fifty houses ; say, each average twenty, at four inhabitants each.			56,400 18,000	
	Total		74,400	

According to this census, we have a population not superior to one of the secondary cities of Great Britain, scattered over fifteen thousand square miles, nearly one-half, too, belonging to the capital, which being omitted, the result would give from two to three souls only for each square mile.

Face of the Country.—The greater part of Jessulmer is *thul* or *rooe*, both terms meaning 'a desert waste'. From Lowar,

on the Jodhpur frontier, to Kharra, the remote angle touching Sinde, the country may be described as a continuous tract of arid sand, frequently rising into lofty *teebas* (sand hills), in some parts covered with low jungle. This line, which nearly bisects Jessulmeer, is also the line of demarcation of positive sterility and comparative cultivation. To the north, is one uniform and naked waste; to the south, are ridges of rock termed *mugro rooe*, and light soil,

The ridge of hills is a most important feature in the geology of this desert-region. It is to be traced from Cutch Bhooj, strongly or faintly marked, according to the nature of the country. Sometimes it assumes, as at Chohtun, the character of a mountain; then dwindles into an insignificant ridge scarcely discernible, and often serves as a bulwark for the drifting sands, which cover and render it difficult to trace it at all. As it reaches the Jessulmeer country it is more developed; and at the capital, erected on a peak about two hundred and fifty feet high, its presence is more distinct, and its character defined. The capital of the Bhattis appears as the nucleus of a series of ridges, which diverge from it in all directions for the space of fifteen miles. One branch terminates at Ramghur, thirty-five miles north-west of Jessulmeer; another branch extends easterly to Pokurn (in Jodhpur), and thence, in a north-east direction, to Phodi; from whence, at intervals, it is traceable to Gurriala, nearly fifty miles due north. It is a yellow-coloured sand-stone, in which ochre is abundantly found, with which the people daub their houses.

Those barren ridges, and the lofty undulating *teebas* of sand, are the only objects which diversify the almost uniform sterility of these regions. No trees interpose their verdant foliage to relieve the eye, or shelter the exhausted frame of the traveller. It is nearly a boundless waste, varied only by a few stunted shrubs of the acacia or *mimosa* family, some succulent plants, or prickly grapes, as the *bhoorut* or burr, which clings to his garment and increases his miseries. Yet compared with the more northern portion, where "a sea of sand without a sign of vegetation"* forms the prospect, the vicinity of the capital is a paradise.

* So Mr. Elphinstone describes the tract about Poogul, one of the earliest possessions of the Bhattis, and one of the *Vo-koti Maru-ca*, or 'nine castles of the desert,' around whose sand-hills as brave a colony was reared and maintained as ever carried lance. Rao Raning was lord of Poogul, whose son originated that episode given in Vo. I. Even these sand-hills, which in November appeared to Mr. Elphinstone without a sign of vegetation, could be made to yield good crops of bajra.

There is not a running stream throughout Jessulmeer; but there are many temporary lakes or salt-marshes, termed *sirr*, formed by the collection of waters from the sand-hills, which are easily dammed in to prevent escape. They are ephemeral, seldom lasting but a few months; though after a very severe monsoon they have been known to remain throughout the year. One of these, called the Kanoad Sirr, extends from Kanoad to Mohungurh, covering a space of eighteen miles, and in which some water remains throughout the year. When it overflows, a small stream issues from the Sirr, and pursues an easterly direction for thirty miles before it is absorbed: its existence depends on the parent lake. That salt which it produces is the property of the crown, and adds something to the revenue.

Soil, husbandry, and products.—Notwithstanding the apparent poverty of this desert soil, nature has not denied it the powers of production; it is even favourable to some grains, especially the *bajra*, which prefers a light sand. In a favourable season, they grow sufficient for the consumption of two and even three years, and then they import only wheat from Sinde. When those parts favorable for *bajra* have been saturated with two or three heavy showers, they commence sowing, and the crops spring up rapidly. The great danger is that of too much rain when the crops are advanced, for having little tenacity, they are often washed away. The *bajra* of the sand-hills is deemed far superior to that of Hindusthan, and prejudice gives it a preference even to wheat, which does not bear a higher price, at times of scarcity. *Bajra*, in plentiful seasons, sells at one and a half maunds for a rupee:* but this does not often occur, as they calculate five bad seasons for a good one. *Joour* is also grown, but only in the low flats. Cotton is produced in the same soil as the *bajra*. It is not generally known that this plant requires but a moderate supply of water; deteriorated in the plains of India from over-irrigation; at least such is the idea of the desert farmer, who perhaps does not make sufficient allowance for the cooler substratum of his sand-hills, compared with the black loam of Malwa. A variety of pulses grow on the sheltered sides of the *teebas*, as *mong*, *moth*, *&c.*; also the oil-plant (*til*) and abundance of the *gowar*, a diminutive melon, not larger than a hen's egg, which is sent hundrens of miles, as a rarity. Around the capital, and between the ridges where soil is deposited or formed, and where they dam-up the waters, are grown considerable quantities of wheat of very good quality, turmeric,

* About a hundredweight for two shillings.

and garden-stuffs. Barley and *gram* are, in good seasons, reared in small quantities, but rice is entirely an article of import from the valley of Sinde.

Implements of husbandry.—Where the soil is light, it will be concluded that the implements are simple. They have two kinds of plough, for one or two oxen, or for the camel, which animal is most in requisition. They tread out the grain with oxen, as in all parts of India, and not unfrequently they yoke the cattle to their *bakerries*, or carts, and pass the whole over the grain.

Manufactures.—Thre is little scope for the ingenuity of the mechanic in this tract. They make coarse cotton cloths, but the raw material is almost all exported. Their grand article of manufacture is from the wool of the sheep pastured in the desert, which is fabricated into *looes*, or blankets, scarfs,† petticoats, turbans, of every quality. Cups and platters are made from a mineral called *aboor*, a calcareous substance, of a dark chocolate ground, with light brown vermiculated stripes; female ornaments of elephant's teeth, and arms of an inferior quality. These comprehend the artificial productions of this desert capital.

Commerce.—Whatever celebrity Jessulmeer possesses, as a commercial mart, arises from its position as a place of transit between the eastern countries, the valley of the Indus, and those beyond that stream, the *Kuttars* (the term for a caravan of camels) to and from Hydrabad, Rory-Bekher, Shikarpoor and Ootch, from the Gangetic provinces, and the Punjab, passing through it. The [illegible] Doab, the opium of [illegible] was only [illegible] to be levied from the monied interest of the capital The Mahesris agreed to pay their share, but the Oswals (the two chief mercantile classes) holding out, were forcibly sent up to the castle, and suffered the ignominious punishment of the bastinado. They paid the demand, but immediately on their release entered into a compact on oath, never again to look on the Rawul's (Moolraj's) face, which was religiously kept during their mutual lives. When he passed though the streets of this capital, the Oswals abandoned their shops and banking-houses, retiring to the interior of their habitations

* This, if strictly true and followed, is according to ancient principles: Menu ordains the sixth. I could have wished Colonel Briggs to have known this fact, when he was occupied on his excellent work on "the Land-tax of India;" but it had entirely escaped my recollection. In this most remote corner of Hindusthan, in spite of oppression, it is curious to observe the adherence to primitive custom. These notes on the sources of Revenue in Jessulmer were communicated to me so far back as 1811, and I laid them before the Bengal Government in 1814-15.

most prolific branch of the fiscal income; but the bad faith of the minister, the predatory habits of the Bhatti chiefs proceeding mainly from thence, and the general decrease of commerce, have conspired nearly to annihilate this source of income, said at one time to reach three lakhs of rupees. These imports are termed *dan*, and the collector *dannie*, who was stationed at convenient points of all the principal routes which diverge from the capital.

Land tax.—From one-fifth to one-seventh of the gross produce of the land is set aside as the tax of the crown, never exceeding the first nor falling short of the last.* It is paid in kind, which is purchased on the spot by the Palliwal Brahmins, or Banias, and the value remitted to the treasury.

Dhooa.—The third and now the most certain branch of revenue is the *dhooa*, literally 'smoke', and which we may render 'chimney or hearth-tax,' though they have neither the one nor the other in these regions. It is also termed, *thali*, which is the brass or silver platter out of which they eat, and is tantamount to at able-allowance. It never realizes above twenty thousand rupees anually, which, however, would be abundant for the simple fare of Jessulmeer. No house is exempt from the payment of this tax.

Dind.—There is an arbitrary tax levied throughout these regions, universally known and detested under the name of *dind*, the make-weight of all their budgets of ways and means. It was first imposed in Jessulmeer in S. 1830 (A. D. 1774) under the less odious appellation of "additional *dhooa*, or *thali*," and the amount [illegible] two thousand seven hundred rupees.

Kotan and Malwa, the famed sugar-candy of Bikaneer,† implements from Jeypoor, are exported to Shikarpur* and lower Sinde; whence elephant's teeth (from Africa), dates, cocoanuts, drugs, and chundus, § are imported, with pistachios and dried fruits from Bhawulpoor.

Revenues and taxes.—The personal revenue of the princes of Jessulmeer ‡ is, or rather was, estimated at upwards of four lakhs of rupees, of which more than one lakh was from the land. The transit duties were formerly the most certain and

† I brought home several pairs of these, with crimson borders, sufficiently fine to be worn as a winter-shawl in this country.

* Shikarpoor, the geat commercial mart of the valley of Sinde, west of the Indus.

§ *Chundus* is a scented wood for *mallas*, or 'chaplets'.

‡ I have no correct data for estimating the revenues of the chieftains. They are generally almost double the land-revenue of the princes in other states of Rajwarra; perhaps about two lakhs, which ought to bring into the field seven hundred horse.

in order to avoid the sight of him. This was strenuously perservered in for many years, and had such an effect upon the prince, that he visited the principal persons of this class, and 'spreading his scarf" (*pulla pussaona*), * entreated forgiveness giving a writing on oath never again to impose *dind*, if they would make the *dhooa* a permanent tax. The Oswals accepted the repentance of their prince, and agreed to his terms. In S. 1841 and 1852, his necessities compelling him to raise money, he obtained by loan, in the first period, twenty-seven thousand, and in the latter, forty thousand rupees, which he faithfully repaid. When the father of the present minister came into power, he endeavoured to get back the bond of his sovereign abrogating the obnoxious *dind*, and offered, as a bait, to renounce the *dhooa*. The Oswals placed more value on the virtue of this instrument than it merited, for in spite of the bond, he in S. 1857 levied sixty thousand, and in 1863 eighty thousand, rupees. A visit of the Rawul to the Ganges was seized upon as a fit opportunity by his subjects to get this oppression redressed, and fresh oaths were made by the prince, and broken by the minister, who has bequeathed his rapacious spirit to his son.

Since the accession of Guj Sing, only two years ago † Salim Sing has extorted fourteen lakhs (£140,000) Burdbhan, a merchant of great wealth and respectability, and whose ancestors are known and respected throughout Rajwarra as *Sahoocars*, has been at various times stripped of all his riches by the minister and his father, who, to use the phraseology of the sufferers, "will never be satisfied while a rupee remains in Jessulmer."

Establishments, Expenditure.—We subjoin a rough estimate of the household establishment, &c., of this desert king.

	Rs.
Burr ‡	20,000
Rozgar Sirdar §	40,000

* *Pulla pussaona*, or 'speading the cloth or scarf,' is the figurative language of intreaty, arising from the act of speading the garment, preparatory to bowing the head thereon in token of perfect submission.

† This was writen in 1821-2

‡ The *Burr* includes the whole household or personal attendants, the guards and slaves. They receive rations of food, and make up the rest of their subsistance by labour in the town. The *Burr* consists of about 1,000 people, and is estimated to cost 20,000 rupees anually.

§ Rozgar-Sirdar is an allownee termed *kansa*, or 'dimer,' to the feudal chieftains who attend the Presence. Formerly they had an order upon the Dannis, or collectors of the transit-duties; but being vexations, Pansa Saha,

Sebundies or Mercenaries ‖	75,000
Household horse, 10 elephants, 200 camels, and chariots	36,000
500 Bargeer horse	60,000
Rani's or queen's establisment	15,000
The wardrobe	5,000
Gifts	5,000
The kitchen	5,000
Guests, in hospitality	5,000
Feasts, entertainments	5,000
Annual purchase of horses, camels, oxen, &c. ...	20,000
TOATL..... Rs.	2,91,000

* The ministers and officers of government receive assignments on the transit-duties, and some have lands. The whole of this state-expenditure was more than covered, in some years, by the transit-duties alone; which have, it is asserted, amounted to the almost incredible sum of three lakhs, or £30,000.

Tribes—We shall conclude our account of Jessulmeer with a few remarks on the tribes peculiar to it; though we reserve the general enumeration for a sketch of the desert.

Of its Rajpoot population, the Bhattis, we have already given an outline in the general essay on the tribes.* Those which occupy the present limits of Jessulmeer retain their Hindu notions, though with some degree of laxity from their intercourse with the Mahomedans on the northern and western frontiers; while those which long occupied the north-east tracts towards Phoolra and the Garah, on becoming proselytes to Islam ceased to have either interest in or connection with the parent state. The Bhatti has not, at present, the same martial reputation as the Rahtore, Chohan, or Seesoda, but he is deemed at least to equal if not surpass the Cuchwaha, or any of its kindred branches, Nirooka or Shekhavat. There are occasional instances of Bhatti intrepidity as daring as may be found amongst any other tribe; witness the feud between the chiefs of Poogul and Mundore. But this changes not the national characteristic as conventionally established; though were we to go back to the days of Chivalry and Prithiraj, we should select Achilesa Bhatti, one of the bravest of his cham-

minister to Rawul Chaitra, commuted it for a daily allowance, varging with the rank of the person, from half a silver rupee to seven rupees each daily. This disbursement is calculated at 40,000 rupees annually.

‖ Sebundies are mercenary soldiers in the fort, of whom 1,000 are estimated to cost 75,000 rupees anually.

* Vol. I,

pions, for the portrait of his race. This Bhatti Rajpoot is, physical power, not perhaps so athletic as the Rahtore, or tall as the Cuchwaha, but generally fairer than either, and possessing those Jewish features which Mr. Elphinstone remarked as characteristic of the Bikaner Rajpoots. The Bhatti intermarries with all the families of Rajwarra, though seldom with the Ranas of Mewar. The late Juggut Sing of Jeipoor had five wives of this stock, and his posthumous son, real or reputed, has a Bhattiani for his mother.

Dress.—The dress of the Bhattis consists of a *jamah*, or tunic of white cloth or chinz reaching to the knee; the *cumurbund*, or ceinture, tied so high as to present no appearane of waist; trowsers very loose, and in many folds, drawn tight at the ancle, and a turban, generally of a scarlet colour, rising conically full a foot from the head. A dagger is stuck in the waist band; a shield is suspended by a thong of deer-skin from the left shoulder, and the sword is girt by a belt of the same material. The dress of the common people is the *dhoti*, or loin-robe, generally of woolen stuff, with a piece of the same material as turban. The dress of the Bhattianis which discriminates the sex, consists of a *ghagra* or petticoat, extending to thirty feet in width, made generally of the finer woollen, dyed a brilliant red, with a scarf of the same material. The grand ornament of rich and poor, though varying in the materials, is the *chaori*, or rings of ivory or bone, with which they cover their arms from the shoulders to the wrist.* They are in value from sixteen to thirty-five rupees a set, and imported from Muska-Mandive, though they also manufacture them at Jessulmeer. Silver *kurris* (massive rings or anklets) are worn by all classes, who deny themselves the necessaries of life until they attain this ornament. The poorer Rajpootnis are very masculine, and assist in all the details of husbandry.

* The chaori of ivory, bone, or shell, is the most ancient ornament of the Indo-Scythic dames, and appears in old sculpture and painting. I was much struck with some ancient sculptures in a very old Gothic church at Moissac, in Languedoc. The porch is the only part left of this most antique fane, attributed to the age of Dagobert. It represents the conversion of clovis, and when the subject was still a matter of novelty. But interesting as this is, it is as nothing when campared to some sculptered figures below, of a totally distinct age; in execution as far superior as they are dissimilar in character, which is decidedly Asiatic: the scarf, the *champakulli* or necklace, representing the buds of the jessamine (*champa*), and *chaoris*, such as I have been describing. To whom but the Visigoths can we ascribe them?—and does not this supply the connecting link of this Asiatic race, destined to change the moral aspect of Europe? I recommend all travellers, who are interested in tracing such analogies, to visit the church at Moissac, though it is not known as an object of curiosity in the neighbourhood.

The Bhatti is to the full as addicted as any of his brethren the immoderate use of opium. To the *umlpani*, or 'infusion,' succeeds the pipe, and they continue inhaling mechanically the smoke long after they are insensible to all that is passing around them; nay, it is said, you may scratch or pinch them while in this condition without exciting sensation. The *hooka* is the dessert to the *umlpani*; the panacea for all the ills which can overtake a Rajpoot, and with which he can at any time enjoy a paradise of his own creation. To ask a Bhatti for a whiff of his pipe would be deemed a direct insult.

Palliwals.—Next to the lordly Rajpoots, equalling them in numbers and far surpassing them in wealth, are the Palliwals. They are Brahmins, and denominated *Palliwal* from having been temporal proprietors of *Palli*, and all its lands, long before the Rahtores colonized Marwar. Tradition is silent as to the manner in which they became possessed of this domain; but it is connected with the history of the *Pali*, or pastoral tribes, who from the town of Palli to Palithana, in Saurashtra, have left traces of their existence; and I am much mistaken if it will not one day be demonstrated, that all the ramifications of the races figuratively denominated *Agnicula*, were Pali in origin: more especially the Chohans, whose princes and chiefs for ages retained the distinctive affix of *Pal*.

These Brahmins, the Palliwalls, as appears by the Annals of Marwar, held the domain of Palli when Seoji, at the end of the twelfth century, invaded that land from Canouj, and by an act of treachery first established his power. It is evident however, that he did not extirpate them, for the cause of their migration to the desert of Jessulmeer is attributed to a period of a Mahomedan invasion of Marwar, when a general war-contribution (*dind*) being imposed on the inhabitants, the Palliwals pleaded *caste*, and refused. This exasperated the Raja; for as their habits were almost exclusively mercantile, their stake was greater than that of the rest of the community, and he threw their principal men into prison. In order to avenge this, they had recourse to a grand *chandi*, or 'act of suicide'; but instead of gaining their object, he issued a manifesto of banishment to every Palliwal in his dominions. The greater part took refuge in Jessulmeer, though many settled in Bikaner, Dhat and the valley of Sinde. At one time, their number in Jessulmeer was calculated to equal that of the Rajpoots. Almost all the internal trade of the country passes through their hands, and it is chiefly with their capital that its merchants trade in foreign parts. They are the

Metayers, of the desert, advancing money to the cultivators, taking the security of the crop; and they buy up all the wool and *ghee* (clarified butter), which they transport to foreign parts. They also rear and keep flocks. The minister, Salim Sing, has contrived to diminish their wealth, and consequently to lose the main support of the country's prosperity. They are also subject to the visits of the Maldotes, Tejmalotes, and other plunderers; but they find it difficult to leave the the country owing to the restrictive *cordon* of the Mehta. The Palliwals never marry out of their own tribe; and, directly contrary to the laws of Menu, the bridegroom gives a sum of money to the father of the bride. It will be deemed a curious incident in the history of superstition, that a tribe, Brahmin by name, at least, should worship the head of a horse. When to this is added the fact, that the most ancient coins discovered in these regions bear the Pali character, and the effigies of the horse, it aids to prove the Scythic character of the early colonists of these regions, who, although nomadic (*Pali*), were aquestrian. There is little doubt that the Palliwal Brahmins are the remains of the priests of the Palli race, who, in their pastoral and commercial pursuits, have lost their spiritul power.

Pokurna Brahmins.—Another singular tribe, also Brahminical, is the Pokurna, of whom it is calculated there are fifteen hundred to two thousand families in Jessulmeer. They are also numerous in Marwar and Bikaner, and are scattered over the desert and valley of the Indus. They follow agricultural and pastoral pursuits chiefly, having little or no concern in trade. Tradition of their origin is singular: it is said that they were *Bildars*, and excavated the sacred lake of Poshkur or Pokur, for which act they obtained the favour of the deity and the grade of Brahmins, with the title of *Pokurna*. Their chief object of emblematic worship, the *khodala*, a kind of pick-axe used in digging, seems to favour this tradition.

Juts or *Jits.*—The Juts here, as elsewhere, form a great part of the agricultural population: there are also various other tribes, which will be better described in a general account of the desert.

Castle of Jessulmeer.—The castle of this desert king is erected on an almost isolated peak, from two hundred and fifty feet in height, a strong wall running round the crest of the hill. It has four gates, but very few cannon mounted. The city is to the north, and is surrounded by a *scherpunna* or circumvallation, encompassing a space of nearly three miles having three gates and two wickets. In the city are some

good houses belonging to rich merchants, but the greater part consists of huts. The Raja's palace is said to possess some pretension to grandeur, perhaps comparative. Were he on good terms with his vassalage, he could collect for its defence five thousand infantry and one thousand horse, besides his camel-corps; but it may be doubted whether, under the oppressive system of the monster who has so long continued to desolate that region, one-half of this force could be brought together.*

* It has been reported that the dagger has since rid the land of its tyrant. The means matter little, if the end is accomplished. Even assassination loses much of its odious character when resorted to for such a purp

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